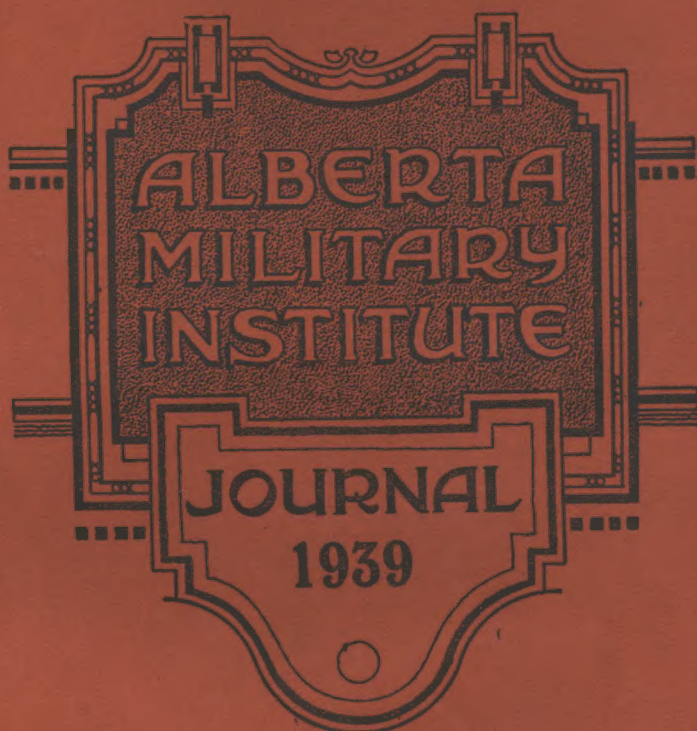




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Twentieth Year

December, 1939

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Search and Seizure at Sea During War

by W. Kent Power, K.C.

SHORTLY after the outbreak of the last Great War, Rudyard Kipling, speaking in London, said that in times like these we civilians should speak as seldom as possible and, if we must write, confine our efforts to our cheque books. But, he went on to say, there are exceptions to that very sound rule, and he proceeded to make his speech. Now, my reason for thinking that this occasion is an exception to that rule is that an invitation to address the Alberta Military Institute is a compliment to any speaker, especially if he be a civilian—a compliment which I sincerely appreciate

Moreover, if I may attempt to interpret the feeling of those of us who have never in time of war been able to be of any physical value whatsoever, I think it can with truth be said that they are all with rare exceptions, experiencing a sense of frustration and that they are all, with rare exceptions, eager to do something to assist that cause for which better men today are sacrificing so much.

If this talk will have the effect of bringing home even to a few of the people of this inland province, far removed though they are from the roar of the breakers and "the murmuring surge that on the unnumbered idle pebbles chafes," something of the importance to them the work of the Royal Navy, and recalls to their memories a few of the glorious pages of its history, then, may I hope, some service, limited in extent though it be, will have been rendered.

During the course of these remarks the word British will be heard many times. May I ask you, please, to keep in mind that when so used it will, in nearly every instance, be intended to include the men and women of the self-governing Dominions and the Crown colonies—we are all subjects of the same King, all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the greatest, most tolerant and most pacific empire this world has ever known.

The fundamental rule governing search and seizure at sea is this: When a belligerent man of war signals to a neutral vessel to heave to, and then boards and searches her, and, in a proper case seizes her, and then brings her before a prize court and the prize court condemns both the vessel and her cargo, or one or the other,

16th November, 1939.

or exonerates the vessel or her cargo, or both, there is an exercise of sea power in a manner which for centuries the law of nations has recognized as valid.

It is not necessary, of course, speaking before this Institute, to dwell upon the importance of sea power in the rise of the British Commonwealth of Nations, or on the decisive role it played in bringing the last Great War to an end. We hope it will be equally and even more speedily effective this time. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that British sea power is of especial and vital interest to us here in Alberta, because, had not the British Navy, assisted by that of France, and, at a critical period in the U-boat campaign, that of the United States, been able to establish and maintain command of the seas, and had not the British mercantile fleet been so vast that it was able to survive in part and continue to transport troops, munitions and supplies, despite the appalling losses inflicted upon it by the submarines, then the heroic achievements of the land forces in France and other theatres of war would not have been possible, the entry of the United States would have been but a futile gesture. France and Britain, not Germany, would have faced starvation, and the disposal of the crops of Western Canada would have been subject to the tender mercies of the enemy. I hope there is not a farmer living in Western Canada today who does not realize and appreciate those facts, for they are, of course equally true of the present war

* * * * *

SEA power, however, consists of much more than the possession of a strong navy and a large mercantile marine. These ships, to be effective, must be manned and fought and navigated by men who, like their fathers before them, are at home on the sea. Therefore it is surely fitting at this time, that we should refresh our memories on the depth to which the sense of the sea has entered into the soul of our race. May I say that born and reared in sight of Her Majesty's ships of war, lying at anchor in or proceeding to the high seas from one of the world's great harbors, the historic port of Halifax, named by Kipling "The Warden of the Honour of the North."

"Into the mist my guardian prowls put forth,
"Behind the mist my virgin ramparts lie,
"The Warden of the Honour of the North,
"Sleepless and veiled am I."

and the harbour which was then the station of Her Majesty's North Atlantic Squadron, to me, the Royal Navy was always a subject of fascinating interest. Rough as they often are, harsh and tyrannical as undoubtedly some of them were, there has always been something clean and bracing, romantic, chivalrous and daring about the men who go down to the sea in ships, whether on stately Spanish galleons, modern men of war, palatial ocean liners, or on the dirty British coaster of Masefield's "Cargoes," that beautiful ballad, which as you all know, has been set to music and is one of the loveliest songs

in the British tongue. And ever since Alfred the Great designed the keels of those ships which sailed forth to fight off the Danes until the present moment, when we are saddened but strengthened by the thought of Captain Markeig-Jones, erect on the deck of the "Courageous" as it sank beneath the waters, the deeds and courage of great sea captains and of the men who served under them, of Drake and Hawkins, of Frobisher, Raleigh and Sir Richard Grenville, of Hood and Collingwood, of Lord St. Vincent and Horatio Nelson—Nelson "whose soul was like a North Sea storm"—and Franklin in our own Arctic, and Captain Scott at the South Pole—Scott who in his diary and the letters that were found with it, left us a priceless record of British character and heroism. You will remember that in his letter to Sir James Barrie, the god-father of his son, he said: "We are in desperate straits, feet frozen, etc., no fuel, and food a long way off, but it would do your heart good to drop into our tent and hear the songs and the cheery conversation as to what we intend to do when we get to Hut Point . . . Be good to the boy. Give him a chance in life if the State won't. And above all things guard him and make him guard himself against indolence. Make him a strenuous man. I had to fight against the tendency to idle."

And Evans, Scott's friend and successor in command of that expedition, later known to us as Evans of the "Broke," and who at the present time is air-raid warden of the City of London, and the ill-fated Craddock at Coronel in the far Southern Pacific, and his swift avenger, Sturdee, Sturdee of the Falkland Isles, and Jellicoe

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and Beattie at Jutland, and Captain Carpenter, V.C., who thrilled a vast crowd in this Armoury by his own modest, sailor-like story of his exploit, Carpenter on the old "Vindictive," at the Mole of Zeebrugge—the deeds and courage of these men and of scores of others like them, and of the men who served under them, have quickened the blood and steeled the spirit of British youth.

* * * * *

FURTHER evidence of the depth to which the sense of the sea has entered into the soul of our race is to be found in our literature. The French historian, Andre Maurois, referring to the Anglo-Saxon writer of our first epic, Beowulf, says: "Whenever the poet speaks of the sea he excels himself." And it can, I think, truly be said, that ever since the spacious days of Great Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada, when the sovereign of all the masters of the music of English words gave us

"This precious stone set in a silver sea"

and

"Wilt thou the high and giddy mast

"Seal up the ship's boy's eyes and rock his brains

"In cradle of the rude, imperious surge"

down to the loveliest, perhaps, of all Masefield's lines

"I must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea and the
sky,

And all I ask is a tall ship, and a star to steer her by."

Masefield, himself, as you know, sailed the Seven Seas as a sailor before the mast—all through those centuries the music and the majesty, the terror, the calm, the tenderness and the cruelty of the sea have instilled the magic into more of the unforgettable lines of English poetry than those which owe their inspiration to any other source, even the love of man and woman.

True it is that the sea is in our blood, and true it is that in song and story, in commerce and in war, the fierce old sea has served us well. But we must sail quickly back to our port of international law.

* * * * *

THE efficacy of sea power depends to a very large extent on the recognition accorded it by international law. International law may be compared to a vast ocean, much befought, and in many parts befogged, beset by dangerous reefs and shoals and crossed by many currents of ever-varying strength and direction. We frequently hear it said that there is no such thing as international law or that, if it ever existed, it disappeared with the last Great War. That is a fallacious view. The very fact that we are all interested today in the rights and obligations of neutrals and belligerents in respect to the carrying on of sea-borne commerce, and as illustrated by the positions of Norway, Germany and the United States in regard to such cases as that of the City of Flint, implies the existence of some code by

which those rights and obligations can be decided. Unless there be a recognized code or law there can be no rights or obligations. But international law does differ from a true law, from what lawyers call domestic or municipal law, in that it lacks the element of enforceability by a tribunal which is both able to declare what the law is and able to see that its declaration is given effect. A nation which refuses to obey the law cannot be imprisoned or attached. It may, therefore, with truth be said that the supreme court of international affairs is war, or the threat of war. In respect to that particular phase of international law which applies to search and seizure at sea during war, the situation may be roughly compared to that which would exist if you could imagine two football or hockey teams contesting a game under rules made in part by the league committee on rules and in part by agreement between the teams themselves, but subject to modification by each team in its own interests as the game progresses and emergencies arise or the other team resorts to unprecedented tactics.

In order to understand the situation today it is necessary to look at the problem which confronted Great Britain shortly after the outbreak of the last war. That problem was the result of four main factors: (1) The geographical position of Germany, with only a short sea coast, that strip between Holland and the Kiel canal, and an inaccessible piece on the south side of the Baltic; (2) The totalitarian nature of modern warfare under which all the resources of the state are mobilized to support the military and naval forces and under which all distinctions between civilians and the men in uniform tend to disappear; (3) The rise of those mixed benefactors and pests, the modern scientists and inventors.

No one would have thought a generation ago that hazel nuts, for instance, might be absolute contraband but the scientists discovered a means of extracting a substance from them which is useful in the making of munitions. And (4) the illegal, piratical and barbarous use to which Germany put the submarine

The last of these factors came into existence on February 1st, 1915, when Germany declared all the waters surrounding the British Isles to be a war area in which all enemy ships would be sunk at sight and into which neutral vessels were warned they would enter at their peril. On the outbreak of the war Britain had declared that it would adhere generally but with important reservations to the famous declaration of London of 1909. That declaration had never been ratified by Great Britain, and for that fact we have the House of Lords to thank. If the House of Lords ever justified its existence it certainly did so when it refused to approve of that Declaration. Britain was thus free to make reservations. The most important reservation was that by which it declared it reserved the right to seize enemy goods on neutral ships even though on their way to a neutral port—the right, in short, to apply the doctrine of "continuous voyage" or "ultimate destination," a doctrine which will be referred to at

greater length farther on. The orders-in-council which gave effect to this policy were, however, relaxed in view of the protests of neutrals, especially the United States.

The necessity for a strict application of the doctrine of "continuous voyage" soon, however, became apparent, and is well illustrated by the famous case of "The *Kim*," (1915) P. 215, 85 L.J.P. 38, on appeal 33 T.L.R. 400) It was proved in that case that four vessels which left New York for Denmark in October, 1914, with cargoes of food stuffs ostensibly destined for Denmark, carried enough lard to supply the normal requirements of Denmark for thirteen years, enough lard to supply the normal yearly requirements of six of the nearby smaller nations of Europe. Germany in its customary blundering manner, had strengthened Great Britain's legal position by its murderous use of the U-boats and by the declaration of February 1st, 1915, already referred to, by which it warned even neutral vessels that they would be liable to be sunk without warning

Germany's announced intention of violating all the hitherto recognized rules of sea warfare led to Britain's famous declaration of reprisal measures which Mr. Asquith read to the House of Commons in his historic speech of March 1st, 1915. It is that policy which is again being applied at the present moment. In that speech Mr. Asquith said:

The law and customs of nations in regard to attacks on commerce have always presumed that the first duty of the captor of a merchant vessel is the bringing of it before a prize court, where it may be tried and where regularities of its capture may be challenged and where neutrals may recover their cargo. The sinking of prizes is, in itself, a questionable act to be resorted to only in extraordinary circumstances and after provision has been made for the safety of all crews and passengers. The responsibility of discriminating between neutral and enemy vessels and between neutral and enemy cargoes obviously rests with the attacking ship, whose duty it is to verify the status and character of the vessel and cargo and to preserve all the papers before sinking or capturing the ship. So, also, the humane duty to provide for the safety of crews of merchant vessels, whether neutral or enemy, is an obligation on every belligerent. It is upon this basis that all previous discussions of law for regulating warfare at sea have proceeded.

The German submarine fulfils none of these obligations. She enjoys no local command of the waters wherein she operates. She does not take her captures within the jurisdiction of a prize court. She carries no prize crew which can be put aboard prizes which she seizes. She uses no effective means of discriminating between neutral and enemy vessels. She does not receive on board for safety the crew of the vessel she sinks. . . . Her opponents are therefore driven to frame retaliatory measures in order in their turn to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany. These measures will, however, be enforced by Great Britain and France without risk to neutral or non-combatant lives, and in strict observance of the dictates of humanity.

The British and French governments will therefore hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods

of presumed enemy destination, ownership or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to confiscation. . . .

Now, it will have to be observed that in the statement I have just read of the retaliatory measures we propose to adopt, the words "blockade" and "contraband" and other technical words of international law do not occur. And advisedly so. In dealing with an opponent who has openly repudiated all the principles both of law and humanity we are not going to allow our efforts to be strangled in a network of judicial niceties. If as a consequence neutrals suffer inconvenience or loss of trade we regret it, but we beg them to remember that this phase of the war was not initiated by us. We do not propose either to assassinate their seamen or to destroy their goods.

It is that policy which is being enforced at the present moment. It is popularly called "the blockade." It is not, in fact, a blockade in the technical sense as defined by international law. A true blockade, legally speaking, is, in the eloquent words of Mr. Asquith, "the sealing up of an enemy's ports against all sea borne commerce by an impenetrable ring of ships of war." Two of the rules governing such a blockade are, first, that it must be effective, that is, neutral vessels who run it are in imminent danger of capture, and, second, it cannot be imposed against neutral ports.

The so-called blockade of today is but an application of, and perhaps an extension of, the doctrine of "continuous voyage," or "ultimate destination," a doctrine which had been applied and developed by the U. S. government and approved by its courts in the Civil War of the 1860's. This fact is admitted in a remarkable letter from William Jennings Bryan, then Secretary of State, to Chairman Stone of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. He said:

The rule of "continuous voyage" has not only been asserted by American tribunals, but extended by them. They have exercised the right to determine from the circumstances whether the ostensible was the real destination. . . . It is thus seen that some of the doctrines which appear to bear harshly upon neutrals at the present time are analogous to or outgrowths from policies adopted by the United States when it was a belligerent. This Government, therefore, cannot consistently protest against the application of rules which it has followed in the past, unless they have not been practiced as hitherto. . . .

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The fact that the commerce of the United States is interrupted by Great Britain is consequent upon the superiority of her Navy on the high seas. History shows that whenever a country has possessed that superiority our trade has been interrupted and that few articles essential to the prosecution of the war have been allowed to reach its enemy from this country.

Ambassador Page and Colonel House were thus in an uncomfortable position when they were required by Washington, under pressure from United States exporters, to protest to the British Government. Moreover, their sympathies were very strong pro-Ally. In fact, poor Page, inheriting as he did all the chivalrous sentiments of the Old South, became so anxious for the success of the allied cause, and so filled with admiration for the British people in time of war, and for their leaders, especially Sir Edward Grey, that he over-bid his hand, came to be regarded at Washington as "more British than the British," and thus defeated, in part at least, the very odds he was so eager to achieve.

House, that little wisp of a man, with the softest of voices, was cooler and shrewder. He is said to have conveyed an extraordinary impression of wisdom. House's career was an extremely interesting one. His father, born in England, was expelled from the family home by a stern parent who found him playing billiards for money. The boy went to Texas, accumulated a comfortable fortune there and sent his boy, who was to become known to history, to an English school. The boy, returning to Texas, there adopted the pleasant hobby of selecting suitable candidates for governorships and finally for the presidency, and bringing about their nomination and election. And this man, who was unknown to the public but who talked on intimate terms with kaisers, prime ministers, and foreign secretaries, never in his life occupied a public, or even political party, office.

* * * * *

A SUBJECT which occupied much of House's attention during the last war was the so-called Freedom of the Seas. It is stated in the life of Sir William Vernon Harcourt that the doctrine was advocated by the American minister to Great Britain following the Civil War. As you know, that doctrine means in short that all private property, except a restricted list of contraband goods, shall be as free from seizure on the high seas during war as it is in times of peace.

A novel reason for opposing that doctrine was advanced by Harcourt, when he argued that its adoption might encourage the outbreak of wars, because if merchants knew that their cargoes would be safe from capture during war they would not have the same interest in trying to prevent wars. The doctrine had, however, many elements of appeal to the British, because of their vast mercantile marine, and, in the event of a war in which Britain would be neutral,

they would carry nearly all the world's ocean cargoes. House thought he had enlisted the support of Sir Edward Grey. The German rulers, however, with their customary vanity and impatience, announced the doctrine as their own. The suspicions of the British people were constantly fully aroused and it became impossible to persuade them to listen to any discussion of it, and as we know, it got but a short shift at the Peace Conference. It is difficult, moreover, to see how the doctrine of the Freedom of the Seas could operate otherwise than as a mortal handicap to Great Britain when at war with a nation such as Germany.

The enforcement of the doctrine of continuous voyage necessitated the invention and development of ingenious and interesting machinery. Britain began the war with a good but specious code and no machinery and ended it with a code more flexible than any theretofore applied and perfect machinery. Neutral vessels were required to put in at ports of call established at Kirkwall, and on the Downs and at Haifa on the Red Sea. There, if their cargoes were innocent, they were given their clearance papers,

Later organizations of neutral shippers were formed whose certificates were honoured by the British government and thus the actual searching of the ships was rendered unnecessary. It is interesting to note that after the United States entered the war they applied the regulations against which they had protested much more drastically than Britain had ever dreamed of doing. They put in an embargo enforced at New York, Boston and Liverpool. The determination of the real destination of the ostensibly neutral cargoes called for and resulted in extremely clever work on the part of the intelligence branch. They were able to supply the contraband committee and the prize courts with irrefutable evidence of the identity of the real shippers and their consignees and connections with enemy firms or the enemy government.

Another interesting piece of machinery was that invented and used by the statistical branch. They were able to prove what had been the normal requirements of the neutral nations bordering on or trading with Germany in respect to the various classes of food stuffs and supplies of all kinds. Thus, when it was shown in the "Kim" case that the four vessels therein in question which were on their way to Denmark carried enough lard to supply the normal requirements of Denmark for thirteen years, and enough lard to supply six of the small neutral nations for a year, there could be no reasonable doubt that the real intended destination of that lard was Germany. In short, the policy of "continuous voyage" or "ultimate destination" enforced by Great Britain and France is one which may be stated in a few words as follows: A belligerent which commands the sea is entitled to be assured that the ostensible neutral destination of the cargoes of neutral vessels is in fact the real destination, or at least that the real destination is not an enemy destination.

* * * * *

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NEUTRAL owners who dispute the validity of the capture of their ships or cargoes have the right to bring their case before the English prize court. That court is the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty division of the High Court of Justice—described by a wag as the “wills, wives and wrecks division.” An appeal lies from the prize court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In Canada that Judge of the provincial Supreme Courts who acts in peacetime as local Judge in Admiralty is in time of war the local prize court. Naturally it is only at Halifax and Victoria that they are called upon to officiate. A famous example of the tender regard which the British prize court pays the interests of neutrals is the case of the “Zamora.” In that case the Privy Council, overruling the prize court, refused to give effect to certain orders in council because they were not authorized by any Act of Parliament and because they were, in the Privy Council’s decision, contrary to international law. Under such circumstances the Privy Council said they would not give effect to orders unless—and this is very interesting—they operated to the advantage of the neutral.

A romantic episode of sea warfare is that of the “Tallahassee” during the American Civil War. The “Tallahassee” was a southern man-of-war or privateer which put into Halifax harbour and under the rules of neutrality was obliged to leave within 24 hours. Its captain was Captain J. Taylor Wood, whose grandson is Commissioner Wood, the present head of our Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Commissioner Wood’s father, Zachary, is remembered by our old timers as an officer in R.N.W.M.P. at Calgary. The Northern cruisers waited at the three mile limit opposite the mouth of the harbour confident that the “Tallahassee” would be unable to get by them. A Halifax pilot got in touch with Captain Wood and told him it might be possible to take the “Tallahassee” out through Eastern Passage, a narrow channel between McNab’s Island and the eastern shore of the harbour, which had never been negotiated by anything except small fishing vessels. The attempt, made at night, succeeded. The “Tallahassee” escaped to the north and carried on until the end of the war. Captain Wood, whose wife was the daughter of Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, came to Halifax and resided there until his death.

* * * * *

IN conclusion, I should like to refer to the opinions of some very eminent men as to the steps which must be taken if we are ever to have permanent peace. In 1869 Sir William Vernon Harcourt, who afterwards became the “old lion” of the Liberal Party and who 25 years later was so bitterly disappointed because Lord Roseberry, and not he, was chosen to succeed the great Gladstone, said: “The attempt to rob war of its horrors is an idle dream and a dangerous delusion. And in a recent article in the Fortnightly Review the distinguished journalist, Wickham Steed, argues that there can be no hope of permanent peace until the theory of the sovereignty of nations has been

modified and until the right to remain neutral in time of war has been abandoned.

In support of his view, he quotes the statements of two great lawyers, one an Englishman, Lord Parker of Waddington, the other, the famous American jurist, Elihu Root. Speaking in the House of Lords in 1918 Lord Parker of Waddington said:

The true line of development lies, not in repudiating the hateful thing (war) but in bringing about conditions under which it becomes increasingly difficult and ultimately impossible, not in consulting the welfare or selfish interests of neutrals, but in abolishing neutrality. Murder would increase if the murderer could count on the neutrality of bystanders, and it is the same with war. The neutral, in fact, shirks his share of the burden of humanity

In the same year Elihu Root said:

There can be no peace without a universal, formal and irrevocable acceptance and declaration of the view that an international branch of the peace is a matter which concerns every member of the community of nations— a matter in which every nation has a direct interest and to which every nation has a right to object.

And in a recent tribute to Anthony Eden the gentle Gilbert Murray of Oxford wrote:

But peace is indivisible, for those who allow a fire to rage unchecked in a neighbour's house cannot be surprised when they find it burning in their own.

If I may suggest what seems to me to be a necessary addition to the views of these eminent men, an addition which no doubt has suggested itself to you, it is this: No matter how essential to the establishment of permanent peace the objective which they advocate may be, little or no progress can be made towards their attainment until Hitlerism and all the vileness and perfidy of which it has been guilty during the past six years, and which it continues to perpetrate, have been wiped out forever, and until certain lessons have been taught the leaders of the German people, if not, perhaps those people themselves. On this point, the question of the guilt of those people, we know opinions differ. There are those who believe that the majority of Germans do think that their country, because of the superior virtues they attribute to it, is in fact the teeming home of supermen destined to dominate the world. But at any rate we can certainly say there can be no permanent peace until the leaders of those people—those leaders who, as Anthony Eden has reminded us, have five times in 80 years brought war on Europe, on two of those occasions war on the world, and among those leaders we must include those teachers in their schools and universities who for over a hundred years have poisoned the minds of that people with their crack-brained and pagan philosophies—until they have been taught that the role of the bully among the nations, and the ridiculous cult of the supermen, and the cruel, unscientific and conceited theory of the dominant race, do not and will not pay.

And they will be so taught provided the men and women of British blood, whether living in remote centres of the great Dominions such as this, or in the far-flung outposts which dot the globe, or in those little, but, thank God, mighty islands in the North Sea, retain, as they will do, their detestation of cruelty and tyranny, of barbaric ruthlessness and cynicism—that cynicism which expresses itself in the utmost disregard and contempt for all considerations of truth and honour—and provided they remain true, as they will remain, to their age-long respect for individual liberty, for the sanctity of the individual soul, and for the courage and fortitude of those valiant hearts, some of them we have recalled to our memories tonight, remain true, in short, to those ideals which you gentlemen—you members of this Alberta Military Institute, have so bravely upheld in time of war; and, in days of peace, often unsympathetic, sometimes coldly critical days, have so consistently and so unselfishly maintained



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Ukraine--The Sore Spot of Europe

By Peter J. Lazarowich

THERE are living in Canada today over 400,000 Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent. The majority of them immigrated to Canada from Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, formerly provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but a very substantial number came also from Ukraine proper, from the area north of the Black Sea formerly called Eastern Russia. This immigration began about 1896 and has continued intermittently and with various degrees of intensity up to several years ago. The overwhelming majority of the Ukrainians settled in Western Canada and are engaged in agriculture while

the remaining portion is absorbed in other walks of life. Upon their arrival here they were quick to perceive and take advantage of the vast opportunities which the new land offered to them, but they were also quick to show their attachment and loyalty to the land which had opened wide its doors of opportunity to them, and during the Great War thousands of them fought side by side with their fellow Canadians. Today the Ukrainian Canadians are taking an active part in all phases of national life in Canada—in parliament, in education, in industry and in social fields, determined to make their contribution to the great task of rearing a great British Dominion on this side of the Atlantic.

In considering the best method of dealing with the subject which I propose to discuss this afternoon, I came to the conclusion that I ought to give my audience some of the most important and fundamental facts with regard to the location, area, population of Ukraine and also of its history, because without that necessary background it would be very difficult fully to appreciate the magnitude, the importance and the international significance of the problem. I therefore propose to deal very briefly with these matters first.

* * * * *

THE Ukrainians inhabit the vast territory running north from the Black Sea as far as Pripet marshes, westward into Poland and the Carpathian Mountains and eastward towards the river Don and the Caucasian Mountains, spreading out in a large fan-like fashion or arc north of the Baltic Sea. Up to the Great War, and indeed up to the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Ukrainian territory was divided

24th April, 1939.

between two separate states—Russia and Austria-Hungary. Since the War the same territory has been partitioned among four states, namely, Soviet Russia, Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia.

The area of the Ukrainian territories is approximately as follows.

Territory known as The Ukrainian Socialist	
Soviet Republic	450,000 sq. kil.
Ukrainian territory in other portions	
of the Soviet Union	130,000 sq. kil.
In Poland	130,000 sq. kil.
In Roumania	17,000 sq. kil.
In Czecho-Slovakia	12,000 sq. kil.
Total	739,000 sq. kil.

For the purpose of comparison I might point out that the area of Great Britain is approximately 227,000 sq. kil.

The present distribution, of the Ukrainians as to population is as follows:

In Soviet Russia approximately	33,000,000
In Poland over	6,000,000
In Roumania	1,125,000
In Czecho-Slovakia approximately	700,000
In the United States and Canada close to	2,000,000

Consequently the total Ukrainian world population will be between 43,000,000 and 45,000,000 of people. We have therefore to deal with a nationality which is almost as numerous as the British and equal to the population of France or Italy, inhabiting a solid area from the Carpathian to the Caucasian Mountains.

The Ukrainian territories are inestimably fertile and rich in mineral wealth. Ever since the time of the Greeks the territory of Ukraine has been known as "the granary of Europe" and in the last century it has become famous for its extensive production of wheat, corn, sugar beet and other agricultural products. There are also huge deposits of coal, anthracite, iron, quicksilver and manganese. There is salt and tobacco and wealthy oil wells in Ukraine, both under Soviet Russia and Poland.

Soviet official statistics declare that of the total production in the Soviet Union Ukraine gives from 20% to 25% of the gross agricultural produce, over one-half (55.8%) of all the metals, over three-quarters (77.8%) of all the coal, 89% of the coke, 77% of the iron ore and 80% of the sugar beet.

* * * * *

AND now let us briefly recall some of its history. Ukraine is the cradle of the Slavs in Europe. Today the Ukrainians inhabit almost the same area on which their ancestors settled in pre-historic times. They constitute one of the two branches of what is known as the Eastern Slavs, the other branch being the Russian or the Moscovite. Mr. Lancelot Lawton, an outstanding author of London, England, says that:

Historians differ as to how from the mingling of nomadic tribes of the south and south-east the Slavonic race emerged. But none, I think, deny that in Russia the Slavonic race first manifested itself in Ukraine.

The Ukrainians who inhabit the territory north of the Black Sea are the purest of Slavs. The Russians are a mixture of the Slav, the Mongol and the Finn. They are, therefore, typically Eurasian both in appearance and mentality. The Ukrainians have no strain of either Mongol or Finnish blood.

The Ukrainian history has its beginnings in the City of Kiev on the River Dniپر, which flows into the Black Sea, and the state which later was organized on the territory surrounding and tributary to Kiev became known as the Kiev State or Russ, and later as Ukraine. The name Ukraine, which came into use about the 12th century, means frontier territory. Therefore, Ukraine was a frontier state, the last outpost of Europe before Asia was reached. Russian history proper had its beginnings in the cities further north, cities like Novgorod and later Moscow, and thus two separate and distinct centres of civilization were built up.

From the earliest times, therefore, and through many centuries, the two nations lived distinct and separate lives, each molding its own peculiar psychology and its own social, economic and ethical philosophy. The result has been that the Russians are essentially superstitious, communal and autocratic, while the Ukrainians are realistic, individualistic and democratic.

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From the tenth century onwards, the Princess of Kiev built up a mighty empire stretching from the Gulf of Finland to the north Caucasus, from the Don almost to the Vistula; a state western in constitution and its code of law, in constant intercourse with central and Western Europe, advanced in learning and education, magnificent in architecture, the equal of any state existing in Europe at that time. The Kiev dynasty gave a queen to France and Norway, an empress to Germany, and England and Russ-Ukraine were united by the marriage of the Grand Duke of Kiev and the daughter of King Harold. Later, a dynasty of Ukrainian princes ruled the territory now known as Galicia and Volhynia. But this state as well as the Grand Principality of Kiev fell a prey to surrounding enemies.

Lithuania, Poland, the Russia of Peter the Great and his successors, followed each other as conquerors of Eastern Europe. Brought within the orbit of each of these states in turn, and sometimes divided between them, the Ukrainians, particularly those of the Dniپر or north of the Black Sea, yet lived throughout the centuries as an autonomous people, first under their Princes, later in unique democratic institutions originated and developed by the Cossacks, a race of warriors, who were the bulwark of the whole Christendom against the Tartars and the Turks under their elected headman or Hetman, with their citadel the Sich on the Dniپر River.

The greatest Cossack Hetman, Bohdan Khetmelnitsky, succeeded for a while in the 17th century in completely freeing Ukraine and establishing an independent, unified, Ukrainian Cossack state, after crushing Poland. He was a ruler among European rulers, as is shown by his correspondence with Oliver Cromwell, which has been preserved, and who sent his Ambassador to Khmelnitsky. This period marks the full realization of Ukrainian nationality. But peace and independence was short-lived. In 1651 the struggle between the Poles and the Cossacks was renewed. Hard pressed, the Cossacks sought a military alliance with Moscovy. A treaty was concluded in 1654 which recognized the independence of Ukraine with but one reservation, that she could not have dealings with either the King of Poland or of the Sultan of Turkey without the knowledge of Moscow. But soon the Czar sent larger forces into the Ukraine and after a severe struggle annexed it. The Cossack revolt continuing, he resolved in turn to seek the aid of Poland and succeeded in subduing and dividing Ukraine with that country. Still the resistance of the Cossacks went on under the famous historical figure Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Mazepa concluded an alliance with the Swedes in order to crush the forces of Peter the Great and to free his country from Russia. But he was unsuccessful. In the great battle at Poltava in 1709 Mazepa and his allies, the Swedes, were defeated by Peter the Great. That was the beginning of the ruin of Ukraine as a political power. In 1764 Katherine the Great finally abolished the Hetmanship and deprived the Cossacks of all their political privileges. Finally, in the several partitions of Poland which took place between 1772 and 1795, Ukraine was partitioned. What is now known as

Eastern Galicia and Bukovina was handed over to Austria and the greater part was annexed by Russia and became part of that empire. Within the next two decades all the Ukrainian institutions were destroyed, serfdom was introduced, and that part of Ukraine was degraded to the position of an ordinary Russian province or colony.

* * * * *

THE history of the Ukrainian nation from the time of this partition can be briefly told. Russia of the Czars relentlessly pursued one clear line of policy towards the Ukrainians—complete political and cultural extermination of the Ukrainians. During more than two centuries of domination, it succeeded in depriving the Ukrainians of all their political rights, in destroying their national culture, in suppressing and denationalizing its schools, in converting its church into a political instrument, in falsifying its history, in depriving the nation of its very name and finally, by the Edict of 1876, in completely forbidding the use of the language in public life, orally and in writing.

Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, of the University of London, one of the most distinguished authorities on Eastern European history, summarizes the results of this policy as follows. Writing in the "New Europe" in 1917, he said:

The Russian re-actionary thesis was that Ukrainian nationality was a "fake." Indeed self-preservation drove the old regime in Russia to oppose the Ukrainian idea by every means in its power. The (national) movement was driven underground and to the superficial observer it was for the time possible to deny its very existence.

Mr. Lancelot Lawton puts it in this way:

The deliberate policy of Russia was to avoid and discourage mention of Ukraine abroad. From the Middle Ages down to the eighteenth century Ukraine figured largely in European literature. But after the first half of the nineteenth century the West was made to forget that there was or had been such a nation.

In Austria over three million Ukrainians inhabited Eastern Galicia (often called West Ukraine) who, although theoretically they possessed certain constitutional guarantees of their cultural, religious and political rights, the practical result was not very consoling. The Polish aristocracy, the hereditary enemy of the Ukrainians, succeeded in gaining complete control in every sphere of life. Professor Seton-Watson summarizes their position as follows:

The whole administration was Polonized and in education and the Courts, the Ukrainian language was subordinated to the Polish . . . For a generation past, the struggle between Pole and Ukrainian has grown in acuteness and has centered in the demand for Ukrainian schools and University and for a democratic franchise as a weapon of national defence.

Summarizing this vast period of Ukrainian history I can do no better than quote Mr. Lawton again. He says:

We have seen that Ukrainian nationality is a reality with at

least a thousand years of authentic history behind it. No nation has struggled more valiantly to assert its independence than it has done; the soil of Ukraine is soaked in blood. Because of its gifts, its lovely climate and its unique situation on one of the world's great cross-roads, it has been continually invaded and oppressed, dismembered and divided. Allying itself first with this nation and then with that, in the hope that it might survive, it has always been betrayed.

And he continues:

That so little has been heard of it (Ukraine) is not surprising; for suppression of Ukrainian Nationality has been persistently accompanied by obliteration of the very word Ukraine and concealment of the very existence of Ukrainians. So successfully was this erasure effected that over the greater part of the world, Ukraine only survived in poetry and legend, and invariably it was thought that if it ever existed, it had long been buried in the cemetery of dead and forgotten nations.

The Ukrainian problem, therefore, constitutes one of the major political deceptions of history, it concerns a land which though not at all remote is almost unknown to us as were, at one time, the exotic lands of Asia and Africa.

* * * * *

IT is therefore obvious that before the Great War, and indeed up to the year 1917, the Ukrainian question as an actual international problem was unknown to anyone except a handful of conscientious students of history. It was only after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 that Europe was suddenly faced with the astounding fact of some forty million people asserting their claim to self-determination and complete national independence. Let us for a moment consider the development of the problem of Ukraine during and immediately following the Great War.

In March 1917 the Russian Revolution broke out. The Ukrainians immediately formed the Ukrainian Central Rada or Council in Kiev, composed of representatives of the leading political and educational groups. This Central Council soon became the virtual parliament of the Ukraine and the exponent of the national will. In its early stages, the Ukrainians proposed a federal union with the new Russia on the basis of complete autonomy but when the anti-national, or rather, the anti-Ukrainian policies of the new Russian governments became obvious, and particularly when after the October revolution the Red army invaded the Ukrainian territory, the Ukrainian National Council on January 22nd, 1918, formally proclaimed an independent sovereign Ukrainian republic comprising all the Ukrainian territory of the former Russian empire.

The republic was soon recognized by all the central powers, by Great Britain and France and by certain of the Baltic states.

What occurred on the remaining Ukrainian territories?

After the collapse of the Austria-Hungarian empire in the autumn of 1918, the Ukrainian National Council in Lwow (Lem-

berg), capital of Eastern Galicia, proclaimed the Western Ukrainian Democratic Republic, comprising the Ukrainian territories of the former Austria-Hungarian empire. Finally, on January 22nd, 1919, the union of both Ukrainian republics was juridically effected and publicly proclaimed and celebrated in the capital of the united, independent Ukrainian state, the ancient city of Kiev.

Thus the Ukrainian nation saw the realization and the fulfillment of its national ideal—the establishment of a united, independent, sovereign, democratic republic with its capital in Kiev and embracing approximately 40,000,00 of people who had for centuries incessantly fought, bled and died for that ideal

* * * * *

BUT against this young republic its traditional foes immediately rose. The Red Bolsheviks, the White Russian Imperialists under General Denikin advanced from the north and east and the Poles from the west. The Allies actively and openly supported Denikin in his efforts to restore the one and indivisible Russian empire and supported the Poles, who argued that a free Poland was destined to be the bulwark of western civilization against Bolshevism. Obviously under such circumstances the Ukrainian national claims found no sympathy with the Allies and consequently, the Ukrainian army found itself fighting on many fronts simultaneously. The Rouman-

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ian forces were advancing from the south and occupied Bukovina and Basarabia. Lacking ammunition, food and medical supplies, decimated by incessant fighting and ravages of that terrible disease, the typhus, it was forced to capitulate. The result was an appalling national tragedy. The Red Soviet forces occupied and annexed Greater Ukraine. The Poles occupied eastern Galicia and Roumania occupied and later formally annexed Bukovina and Basarabia. Podkarpadska Russ, a small territory which had been for centuries under Hungarian domination, joined with the Czecho-Slovak republic on the basis of complete autonomy in 1919.

But the Ukrainians, although defeated on the battlefields, did not renounce their national ideal of complete national unity and independence. They turned their eager eyes towards the Peace Conference then already sitting in Versailles. President Wilson had announced to the world that the principle of self-determination of nations was to be the guiding star of that momentous Conference and he was the dominating moral spirit at Versailles. Surely the just plea of 40,000,000 people would be heard and gratified. The Ukrainian government, now in exile, sent large delegations to the Peace Conference to urge upon that solemn body its national claims. Ukrainians in Canada and the United States also sent delegations to Versailles.

But the Peace Conference bitterly disappointed all their hopes. It not only failed to recognize the right of the Ukrainian nation to independence but, on the contrary, treated it as an enemy state by formally assigning part of its territory to Poland and Roumania. Only the British and the Dominion delegates protested against such action.

And so once more the achievements of generations—nay, of centuries were destroyed. The nation was again betrayed and dismembered. History repeated itself with cruel vengeance to the Ukrainian nation. The Great War had brought liberation to infinitely smaller nations in Europe. To the Ukrainians it brought greater enslavement. Instead of two oppressors it now had four.

* * * * *

IN 1923 Greater Ukraine with its population of over 32,000,000 was incorporated in the Soviet Union nominally as an autonomous republic of the U.S.S.R. But this republic has been cruelly deprived of all its political powers and is now virtually a colony of Red Russia, whose policy of centralization has brought about complete political subjection and intensive economic exploitation. East Galicia with its population of over 5,000,000 was handed over to the Poles at first only for the purpose of establishing civil administration in that territory and finally in 1923 by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors this territory was recognized as an integral part of Poland, on the express condition, however, that Poland would grant full autonomy to that territory. Furthermore, previous to that, in 1919

Poland had signed the famous Minority Treaty with the Allied and Associated Powers, guaranteeing to the Ukrainians equality before the law and full religious, educational and national liberties. Canada was a separate signatory to that Treaty.

But Poland has not only refused to carry out these solemn international obligations but she has repeatedly violated its provisions and has instituted in that territory a reign of terror instead of law. The sad plight of the Ukrainians in Poland has been the subject of numerous petitions to the League of Nations, including a petition from a great number of the most distinguished statesmen in Great Britain, numerous interpellations in the British House of Commons and a full dress debate in the House of Commons in Ottawa. But all this brought no improvement or mitigation in conditions there. The policy of ruthless repression of every phase of Ukrainian life has been relentlessly pursued to this day.

In Roumania, where only 1,250,000 Ukrainians reside, conditions are analogous. The policy there is the systematic repression of Ukrainian national life.

* * * * *

IN view of all these facts which I have related, I presume that the following are some of the questions which must present themselves to your minds. Firstly, is there such a thing as a Ukrainian national movement in Europe today, or has the soul of these great people finally perished in its new slavery? Secondly, if there is, what is the nature and the international significance of that movement, and, thirdly, what is the solution to that problem? These are questions which I propose to deal with very briefly now.

In order to realize that there is a very active militant Ukrainian national movement in Europe today and that it constitutes one of the most impressive and baffling problems in the international relations, one needs simply to follow the press of today. I can say that there is not a single important paper or journal in the English-speaking world today which does not from time to time contain articles dealing with this problem. Particularly the British press displays a remarkably thorough and accurate knowledge of the movement.

But let me recall a few facts. That there is a Ukrainian national movement under the Soviets can be established from the mouth of Stalin himself and that of other Soviet leaders. Speaking at the 17th Congress of the Communist Party held in January, 1934, Stalin used these words:

Only very recently in the Ukraine the deviation towards Ukrainian Nationalism did not represent the major danger; but when we ceased to fight against it and enabled it to grow to the extent that it joined up with the interventionists this deviation became the major danger.

On February 14th, 1935, Lubchenko, Chairman of Commissars of the Ukraine, said:

There was a period when the Ukrainian Nationalists carried on their work in the Ukraine not without success. This was in 1931-32. The Nationalist elements wormed their way at that time into the collective farms, the agrarian organs and the system of public education. They came into close alliance with the adherents of the nationalist deviators within the Party who were led by Skrypnik. They came out in a united front with the white-guards, the Trotskyites and the Rights, having united on a platform of secession of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union.

During September, 1938, there were mass arrests of officers of Ukraine garrisons in Kharkiv and Kiev. In October, during the Czecho-Slovak crisis, Marshal Bluecher of the Ukrainian Army was "liquidated" on a charge of "silent encouragement of Ukrainian separatism." Also in October took place the arrest of Andrienko, Secretary of the Komsomol in Ukraine, for Nationalist activities, followed later by that of his successor Khuravieff, and of a large number of other hitherto unimpeachably orthodox leaders of Communist youth in Ukraine. In December, came the news of the arrest of 63 prominent officers of the "Red" Army in Ukraine, on similar charges.

The editor of Contemporary Russia, in Volume 2, Number 3, for the year 1938, has this to say:

Little is known about Ukraine in this country. The Ukrainian cause is just, but there has been no one to plead it. Hence most English people do not know where Ukraine is, and many of those who do are unaware of the greatness of its history, the richness of its culture, the beauty of its nature, the giftedness of its people and the heroism of its peasants in their struggle to free themselves from the Soviet Union. These peasants, who form the major part of the Ukrainian people, are in perpetual revolt against Soviet Moscow; although they are the fury and fibre of the insurrection, all manner of men participate in it; professors, scientists, journalists, officers, soldiers and even members of the Communist Party, including its foremost leaders. Hardly a day passes without numerous arrests and executions.

The revolt within Ukraine will remain a running sore in a vital part of the Soviet body, and the proud longing of the Ukrainian peasant for independence will endure and win for him respect all over the world.

* * * * *

WHAT of Poland? The Ukrainians in Poland never recognized or accepted the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors in 1923, which incorporated them into the Polish state. On the contrary, they have repeatedly repudiated and denounced it as contrary to the right of self-determination and natural justice. Since that time, this movement has had as its objective the granting of autonomy to East Galicia in accordance with Poland's treaty obligations. This movement is so powerful that in order to repress it

Poland has on numerous occasions resorted to mass terrorism, the so-called "pacifications" resulting in the destruction of property, loss of human life, mass arrests, demolition of cultural institutions and public buildings, and the strictest censorship of the press.

On December 9th, 1938, fifteen Ukrainian members of the Polish Diet in Warsaw, submitted what is called the Ukrainian Home Rule Bill, demanding complete territorial autonomy for the Ukrainian minority in Eastern Galicia. The speaker rejected the Bill outright and refused a debate on the question, but undoubtedly the matter has not and will not be abandoned by the Ukrainians.

A similar National movement is alive in Roumania, although the methods employed there are different.

In Czecho-Slovakia the territory known as Podkarpadska Russ, with approximately 700,000 Ukrainians, was promised complete autonomy as a condition of its inclusion in the Czecho-Slovakian state in 1919. However, up to September, 1938, after almost 20 years of insistent demands no autonomy was granted. It was only after Czecho-Slovakia capitulated to Nazi Germany and after the Munich Pact that this territory secured under threats of secession the long promised autonomy. The territory was immediately renamed the Carpathian Ukraine to remove all doubts as to the national character and aspirations of that small province.

* * * * *

FOR a brief period of some five months it enjoyed a large measure of independence in its internal affairs. This little country became a Ukrainian national state in miniature. The Premier was an elderly Ukrainian statesman, Rev. Voloshyn. His two cabinet ministers were Ukrainians. The official language of the country was Ukrainian. In February, 1939, the first vote or plebiscite was held. The government of Premier Voloshyn received 92% of all the ballots cast, showing to all the world the overwhelming national character

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of the little state. This state then became the hope, the beacon-light of the Ukrainians all over the world. It appeared that it was destined to become the Piedmont of the Ukrainian national movement. But all these hopes were suddenly shattered when on March 15th Hitler destroyed Czechoslovakia itself. In consequence of that, Carpatho-Ukraine had no alternative but to claim its independence. But its fate was sealed before it was proclaimed. In point of fact it lasted only a day or so. The Hungarians with the connivance of Hitler invaded this small and defenceless state and after a few days of bloody resistance formally annexed it, thus establishing a common frontier with Poland. History, however, will record this fact: that the only part of the Czechoslovakian Republic which went down fighting for its independence was the Carpathian-Ukraine, thus adding another bloody chapter in the struggle for Ukrainian independence. But although the state has perished the spirit of liberty has not.

So obviously there is a Ukrainian national movement and the so-called Ukrainian problem in Europe.

What then is the nature and the international significance of this problem?

The Ukrainian problem is an irresistible movement of a nationally conscious people of over 40,000,000 partitioned among four different political powers, striving actively by all means at their disposal towards the clearly perceived common national goal—the liberation from ancient bondage and the re-establishment of a unified, independent democratic national state, the Ukraine.

* * * * *

PROFESSOR G. W. Simpson, of the University of Saskatchewan, who is the best informed Canadian on the subject, in a radio address delivered over the C.B.C., which has now been published in leaflet form, characterized it in these words:

The Ukraine national movement is a widespread and genuine expression of nationalism seeking political expression. It has for its ultimate objective the creation of a united, independent Ukrainian state.

What is its international significance in Europe?

Firstly, I would say that the events preceding and culminating in the Munich Pact have shown to all the world the grave danger to world peace which lurks in the so-called minority problems which exist within the artificial political boundaries of many post-war European states. They are obviously dangerous sources of strife and have and may produce great international conflicts, crises and catastrophies. That the Ukrainian problem is one of such problems is, I hope, obvious to all thinking people. In the words of Professor Seton-Watson:

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It is certain that the Ukrainian question is the biggest minority problem left in Europe and contains the seeds of infinite trouble.

Professor Simpson says:

I believe that Ukrainian nationalism constitutes one of the pressing problems of our day about which we must speak frankly.

Mr. Lawton, whom I have already quoted several times and who is the editor of a very serious publication, Contemporary Russia, in an address before a group of members of the House of Commons in London, on May 29th, 1935, said thus:

The chief problem in Europe today is the Ukrainian problem. Of deep concern to this country because of its effect upon European peace and diplomacy, it is at the same time closely bound with British interests of a very vital nature. It would be hypocrisy to deny that an independent Ukraine is as essential to this country as to the tranquility of the world. What then is the use of pretending that there is peace when there is no peace? Nor will there be any until this Ukrainian question is satisfactorily disposed of.

The importance of the Ukrainian question to Great Britain is thus stated by Mr. Lawton:

Important British interests are involved in the Ukrainian problem. Ukraine with its coast-line on the Black Sea lies on the last stretch of the highway from the North to South of Europe. Through it also passes the nearest land route from Central Europe to Persia and India. The possession of Ukraine enabled Tsarist Russia to cast eyes upon the Balkans and the Straits, to threaten Turkey, control the Caucasus and bring pressure upon Persia.

It is therefore not very difficult to appreciate that in the interests of balance of power in Europe it is of vital importance to Great Britain whether the future Ukrainian state is to be friendly to her or to Germany.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly of January 27th, 1939, contains an article entitled "Ukrainian and European Problems." I would like to quote a few excerpts from it as they bear directly on the point which we are now considering. The writer, among other things, says:

The powers principally interested in the Ukrainian question are Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Italy, Japan, and, of course, Russia. Germany does not at the moment plan any quick or forced "solution".

Italy has been interested in the Ukrainian question for some time. There is a special rapporteur for Ukrainian affairs in the Fascist Grand Council and another in the Italian Ministry of War. Mussolini has a personal adviser on Ukrainian affairs. There is a considerable Ukrainian colony in the Far East which may some day be used to promote Japanese anti-Russian policy. Altogether, Japan is more and more deeply interested in the Ukrainian question as part of the whole Russian question. The chief Japanese observer in Ukrainian matters commands the Ukrainian language perfectly.

The Czechs share the German wish (though from very different motives) for a powerful and independent Ukraine, hoping that a new Slav power will counteract German influence in Eastern Europe . . .

As a first stage, the Czechs would like to see the creation of a Galician-Volhynian State which would be joined to Carpathian Ruthenia and become part of the Czecho-Slovak Federation.

In Hungarian eyes the Ukrainian question is becoming part of the question of Hungarian independence, which is being menaced more and more by Germany. Hungary would like to see an independent Ukraine as counterweight to Germany. None of the Central and Eastern European States, including even the Czechs, believe in the permanence of the Soviet Union as a centralized state.

Poland naturally opposes the creation of an independent Ukrainian State, for to her it would mean the loss of about a third of her territory . . .

Rumania has a considerable Ukrainian minority and is concerned lest it be used by Germany to promote the disruption of the Rumanian State.

* * * * *

SINCE the rise of Hitler and more particularly since the Munich Pact, the outside world has definitely associated the Ukrainian national movement with the German imperialistic ambitions in eastern Europe. Indeed, a great number of people who should know better fill newspaper columns and journals with articles designed to prove that the Ukrainian national movement is simply a "new German intrigue." Of course, this audience will immediately recognize such an attitude as either sheer ignorance of facts or a definite hostility towards the Ukrainian cause.

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In the first place, if Nazi Germany today shows keen interest in the Ukrainian problem, it is largely due to the indifference on the part of Great Britain and France towards that problem. In the words of Professor Seton-Watson, speaking of Ukraine:

It may be that Britain and France by their abdication at Munich have left the vital decisions to Hitler.

But I can do no better than quote again Professor Simpson on this question from his radio talk referred to before. He says: -

The Ukrainian question is at present definitely associated with Hitler's notorious ambitions in Eastern Europe. It is, however, important to note that Ukrainian nationalism existed long before the rise of Hitler to power and it will continue long after the shade of Hitler has joined the ghostly procession of those dictators who have violently run their course across a single page of history. It is a conjunction or coincidence in international affairs which at the present time links Hitler's ambition for power with Ukrainian aspirations for national independence.

In a subsequent radio address he has characterized this aspect of the Ukrainian problem as follows:

To some people Ukrainian nationalism is to be deprecated because it has been associated with Hitler's policy of eastward expansion. These people are afraid that Hitler using the lever of Ukrainian national sentiment will drive to the east, and, if he is successful, will rivet on the Ukrainians the shackles already placed on the Czechs; or, if it momentarily suits his convenience, will abandon them to their former oppressors, as he has already abandoned, with utter unscrupulousness, Carpatho-Ukraine to the Hungarians.

But the Ukrainian national movement is something much deeper than contemporary political fashions such as nazism and communism. It is not based on the manoeuvres and fancies of self-styled leaders and agitators, but on the common decent feelings of millions of ordinary folk. The overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people do not want dictatorship, whether it is of the Hammer and Sickle, or of the German boot and gallows. The whole history of the Ukrainian people is characterized by the ceaseless struggle against such successive tyrants. Their greatest desire is, in fact, a larger measure of freedom and a recognition of their existence as a free and equal people. At the end of the Great War they followed the road of self-determination and set up their national government. In the struggle which followed they succumbed to superior imperialistic forces. When this occurred there was hardly a voice among the western democracies to deplore their defeat or protest against the betrayal of the principles upon which the Peace Settlement was based as far as the Ukrainians were concerned. Now has come the whirlwind. The western democracies stand before the menacing power of Hitler's machiavellian policy of fear, force and favor. They know that he would gladly avail himself of Ukrainian nationalism for the purpose of Teutonic dominance. They feel they must co-operate with Poland, Roumania and Russia to resist Hitler's mad bid for power. But Russia, Roumania and Poland are precisely those states which contain Ukrainian minorities. It would, however, be extremely short-sighted in exactly the same way that Chamberlain sug-

gested that it was short-sighted of the statesmen of the Paris conference just twenty years ago, to ignore altogether the existence of such a potential force in Eastern Europe as Ukrain-Roumania is indispensable to the checking of the Nazi domination over Europe, then the Western Democracies should, without fail, reserve the right to discuss the question of justice to the Ukrainian people for the settlement of the Ukrainian question themselves, but would be of inestimable service to the establishing of happier relationships between all people of Eastern Europe. Historical circumstances have brought these people together, so that they are inescapably neighbors to one another. Only by a free recognition of equality among themselves can there be stabilization and peace.

Canadians have a special interest in the Ukrainian situation, not only because we are involved in the general problem of democracy and European stabilization, but also because we have several hundred thousand fellow-Canadians who are of Ukrainian origin and who follow with tense feelings the European developments.

Ukrainians in the Old Land have been ready to risk property and sacrifice their own lives for the national cause. No other proof of the existence of the national spirit could be more convincing. The only people so far to resist by armed fighting the system of intimidation and force inaugurated by Hitler have been the Ukrainians in Carpatho-Ukraine. Abandoned by Hitler who had guaranteed their borders and hopelessly outnumbered by the invading force the Ukrainian volunteer fighters resisted the Hungarian advance and showed that they preferred death to domination. If liberty in the ultimate analysis can only be guaranteed by willingness to make supreme sacrifice, then the Ukrainians have already paid the first instalment for the re-establishment of European freedom.

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PERSONALLY I can say that the Ukrainian nation will never voluntarily accept any form of foreign domination or tutelage whether it be German, Russian, Polish, or even British. It is, of course, quite conceivable that in the extremely difficult international situation it may from time to time be compelled to seek temporary assistance or protection of some great friendly power. That, however, will only be the means and not the ultimate goal. What that goal is, I have already discussed, and until this goal or ideal has become a living fact, until the Ukrainians shall have attained complete liberty, they will be faithless to which ever state they are joined, and will continue to shed their own blood and that of their conquerors. Until then it is no exaggeration to say that peace in Europe cannot be secured and maintained and, until then, Ukraine will ever be a nightmare to its oppressors—a menace to world peace and the sore spot of Europe.

M 2428

STARR'S AMBULANCE

M 2428

102 FOURTEENTH AVENUE EAST

Canada's Foreign Policy

By Max Freedman

I WAS born six weeks before the war started, and as I am one of those for whom the war was fought, I will always regard it as part of an obligation to explain some of the simpler aspects which led up to that great conflict. I have also cherished a longing to express for myself a note of personal gratitude to the men who made it possible for me to live in a country which still cherishes liberty, and is dedicated to the ways of democracy.

I was reading Plutarch on the way up to Calgary, and I notice reference there to the manner in which Caesar was able to defeat the forces of Pompey. It was a close battle, and he instructed his men to point their javelins at the faces of the Pompeyan forces, because he knew that the nobles of Pompey dreaded, above everything else, a face that was disfigured. Caesar's men raised their javelins, and when the nobles of Pompey saw the threat of disfigurement to their faces, they turned and fled.

I do know that here are Canadian soldiers that endured the shattering experiences on the Western Front, and marched with the Empire and victory—that is one of the great traditions of the Canadian people. There were many honorable deeds that will live in military history, because they were on the side of peace. We meet many years afterwards, and I am talking on "Canada's Foreign Policy." I may say that I am from Edmonton, and I have had to improvise everything that I am going to say tonight. I have had rather a busy week, and have been truly unable to put together even a rudimentary outline of what I am going to say tonight, which reminds me of Rufus Choate, who said: "With my side still bleeding from the spur of the moment." So if I am guilty in my unhappy efforts of any transgression, or if I am found guilty of an occasional indiscretion, I will hope you will pardon me, and charge it to lack of preparation—I shall not fail through lack of enthusiasm or intention.

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A GREAT many people say that Canada has no foreign policy. I regard that charge as one of those made most frequently by those people who never bother to acquaint themselves with the facts. The most agreeable thing about Canadian foreign policy is its continued consistency irrespective of any political party that may be entrusted with the anxieties of office. The people of Canada,

13th March, 1939.

moreover, believe that, once they outline a foreign policy, they themselves will have to back it up. The very term "foreign policy" as I see it, is incorrect, and I agree with the Prime Minister that it is much more proper to speak of an "external" policy.

Described thus, I will deal with our foreign policy, and I feel that anything which even remotely suggests that our relationship to the rest of the Empire is part of a foreign policy, is something which we should summarily reject.

I am going to make my case rest upon several axes which I now want to study as carefully as I possibly can. In the very first place, we have to remember that we are only 11,000,000 people. We cannot hope to govern conditions in Europe or in Asia, we have to await the development of these events, and ultimately the world has to make the fateful choice of peace or war. We may then be implicated of necessity, if not by choice, but until the ultimate decision is actually made, we are in the position of spectators watching a programme, of unfolding events. This is a familiar picture to you who are in business. As a result of that fact, many people want Canada to take a more aggressive policy than was decided on, or which she is now taking.

Now I suggest that it is the policy of wisdom to alter our pronouncement of foreign affairs in proportion to our national strength. I was told by your chairman this evening, and I am grateful to him for having jogged my memory, that only a few years ago, National Defence expenditure was only 15 cents for every Canadian. If that is the case, and I know it is, how could we possibly presume to settle the problems of a distracted world simply on our own? So that when our radical friends criticize the Canadian people, and that is what they do when they cast aspersions on the Canadian Government for not having taken a more spirited stand on recent European questions, I think it is sheer imagination and they are so prejudiced that they are unable to recognize facts.

We cannot frame our policy in obedience to Geneva or Washington. That I think you will all agree with. Then there is another school of thought which asks us to frame our policy in obedience with the policies of London. With that school I have a great deal of sympathy, but unfortunately the entire development of Canada since the signing of the peace treaties has been unable to enable Canada to have a free voice in the determination of her external policies.

I am going to say tonight, and I am going to try to prove, that we have been indefinite in our relations to Great Britain, in times of peace and war. We have accepted the relationship within the Empire without bothering to define its implications, or bothering to accept its sacred obligations, although we have realized that it is impossible for Canada to accept all of the privileges of membership in the Empire, without also accepting the responsibilities of membership.

When people say to me, as they have often said, that I am assuredly trying to get Canada to support imperialistic policies, I answer that, conditions being what they are in the world today, it is impossible to have an imperialistic policy in military matters.

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YOU hear a lot about the conflict between the forces for peace and war. It is only a catch phrase, which people use as an easy substitute for thinking, but doubtless people who use that argument cannot say that Great Britain is going to be driven into any war for greed of territory. I remember clashing rather violently with my professor of History at the University of Manitoba when I disputed with him the statement that Britain never had been driven into war for economic reasons. He spoke as though there was an Empire upon which the sun had never risen. I suggest to you that the position of Great Britain today makes her dependent upon the administration of her territory on the basis of justice, and where people dwell unmolested regardless of whatever nation they may be. When people say if we stand behind Great Britain, we are standing for the forces of imperialism, they are talking sheer rot, because the integrity of Europe depends upon the maintenance of law, and the supremacy of the moral authority in the international situation. I am sometimes told there is no contradiction at all between being a believer in collective security and a more forceful faith in Great Britain.

I have always regarded the Empire as being the first and the main support of the League of Nations, and the League essentially collapsed because it lacked that inherited loyalty at Geneva, which we have for the Empire. We remember the courage the world commanded when first Geneva came into being—a spirit of world loyalty. We remember today, not twenty years after its inception, that the League has failed, and some people insist that Canada could have prevented its collapse. I must remind the members of the Institute that the League of Nations essentially was not a holy instrument. The League was the result of the long series of diplomatic experiments to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and it was that balance and the particular means devised to secure it, which was the guarantee of peace. Europe was sorry when the League of Nations collapsed. France was not surprised. We were both sorry and surprised.

We went from the heights of rapture to the depths of despair, and the very people in Canada who asked us to request Great Britain to disarm, then criticized her for not standing up to the totalitarian states, and so beggared to decency that they did not pay the League of Nations the cursory approval of a passing glance. Perhaps I am being indiscreet, but I am at least going to have the merit of being frank. I think the League of Nations was doomed the minute it was adopted by all the sentimentalists in our country, as well as in Great Britain and the United States; people who went up and

down the country speaking to "service" clubs. What the League needed was hard-hearted people—it got soft-hearted sentimentalists and failed. I remember that judgment in rumors, because I happen to have been nurtured in loyalty to the League of Nations. You cannot hope to create a world brotherhood until you have established a partnership between peoples. That partnership today does not exist. We have a world armed, truculent, bellicose with hate. You have aligned on the one side the forces of evil, on the other those of peace and democracy; the law of force and the force of law. The small hope that we once had that good example could be contagious has failed—we know now that there is nothing so infectious as tyranny.

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I AM talking to military men conscious of the certain lessons of military history. I remind you that in 1870 France was humbled, levelled with the dust by Germany. In 1905, 35 years after that war was over, Chellancy, the French Foreign Minister, was compelled to resign because he had advocated a policy which Germany did not like. The shadow of German militarism steals on lengthening wings over a fear-struck Europe. The Allied powers won the war, yet twenty years later the nation with the superiority complex is Germany—the nation that was defeated laying down the law to Europe and the Allied Powers that won the war, facing grim reality. Now, I ask you to review your military experience, and to tell me of one comparable situation in the turbulent and tragic history of Europe. After twenty years, the nation that had lost the war, arbiter of Europe's destiny—what does that mean? There are few historical affairs to parallel this, and perhaps another troubled force hangs over Europe. Europe may be facing a challenge more critical than any it has endured since the historic days of the Great War when Britain sent her soldiers to save Europe from the forces of tyranny. If there ever was a time when we needed a united front, it is today, and when Canadians try to divide that loyalty and allegiance to the Empire they are guilty of a grave offence, or to destroy that allegiance to an institution in Geneva which once might have worked, but which works no longer, they are playing into the hands of the very people we may once more have to face in grim arbitrament of force. The world today is not being ruled on paper. When Bismarck started his war on Austria in 1866, an indiscreet under-secretary said: 'Perhaps Great Britain will intervene,' and he replied: "If the British army lands here we will have them arrested."

The very people who talked of disarmament are the architects of Europe's tragedies today. It is a record of history, that Britain disarmed hoping that the rest of the world would follow her example, but that example was soon being violated. Chamberlain told her that as far back as 1926, but he was called a croaking prophet and that was all the Cassandras could say to Chamberlain.

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WHAT does all this lead me to? Simply this: our Prime Minister said in his speech in the House of Commons on May 24th, 1938, that we have defined our relations to the Empire in times of peace, and we have not yet defined them in times of war. What are the relationships in times of peace? We are notified of all British foreign policy decisions, as a matter of information for our Department of External Affairs. We do not expect to be consulted. The Prime Minister says that if we were consulted we would accept responsibility for the decision. We would become involved in the party conflicts at Westminster. We are simply advised of what the British policy is to be. We do not shape it. We are not bound by it. We are not responsible for it. The Prime Minister also says that when war is declared it will be the free voice of the Canadian people speaking in Parliament that will pass judgment upon the issues of peace and war in the light of all the then known relevant facts.

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A DOCUMENT is being circulated in this country by several influential people—I have received it myself and refused to sign—asking Canadians to invoke the right of neutrality and to say now that we are not necessarily implicated by any British decision. There is nothing strange, or startling, or new about that document. I agreed with the document—I objected to the covering letter of explanation, which said “that we refuse to be directed into imperialistic wars.”

Laurier said almost forty years ago that “we are not at war in any secondary conflict until Britain is engaged. When a primary conflict imperils the Empire, we are all, of course, prepared to do our duty should the Canadian people so desire.” No automatic commitment at all, but all the emphasis was placed upon sharing our burden with the rest of the Empire, and bearing our proper share of that burden.

Now the policy of every Canadian Government irrespective of party, since 1920, has been to seek refuge in what I cannot but con-

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sider an ambiguous decision. What will happen if war is declared? There are some people who will say that we will not be able to render a speedy decision—that party opposition will run riot in Canada's ancestral loyalties; the call of blood, the love of Mother England, all our reserve of inherited love, will speak to us with their old birth-right, and we will at once rally to the call.

I am only too reluctant to admit the presence of other elements in this country that would do everything in their power to prevent that answer being made when the Empire is stricken in the hour of direst need.

Should we proclaim our neutrality today? I hold we should distinguish between the right of neutrality and the proclamation of that right. We are a stubborn people—I do not want to enter into any dark quibble upon legal niceties. I believe, despite what Mr. Ewart has said, that Canada has a sovereign right in the field of foreign affairs, and that Canada can act free as a people in case of peace or war. I believe that the very possession of sovereignty implies we necessarily can act as a free and sovereign people. I think that we should possess today, in absolute form, the right of neutrality, but I also believe it would be a policy of national disaster and of sheer folly to proclaim that right today.

It is all very well for certain radical professors in McGill University, for certain members of the C.C.F. "brain-trust", and for certain crusading editors in Winnipeg, to say that proclamation is meant for Canada and not for the rest of the world. Unfortunately, the whole world would hear of the proclamation—the whole world would hear that Canada has said, in peace time, that when war comes upon the Empire we would be on the side-lines. It is the best news the Fascist states could hear. We have ruled ourselves out of the game. We have severed our allegiance to the Empire. We have broken one of the main pledges of peace. We feel that we will act in a time of danger, but a moment of paralyzing indecision intervenes before we swing into action, and it may be too late, when Canada ultimately makes up her mind.

We will understand what we mean to proclaim to the world is the right of neutrality. How will it be pictured in Italy and Germany? And here you know the answer as well as I do. I am told that two other states in the Commonwealth have also made that proclamation of neutrality. There were special circumstances at work in South Africa, and, if I delved deeper, I should see that there is no possible connection between that situation, which was wrapped up with a national constitutional struggle for complete national independence, and our own position when our independence is formally guaranteed. All that lies beyond, and I am now faced by my more modest task.

I am opposed to the proclamation of neutrality, first of all because I think it is unnecessary; secondly, because it will be mis-

understood; thirdly, because it will be provocative of rumor and distrust, and all the forces of suspicion that we can improvise, and will definitely not be a pledge of peace, and lastly, and most important of all, I am opposed to the proclamation of neutrality because I think that the policy of neutrality is essentially unworkable.

I think that Canada should not be neutral when Great Britain is at war. There is no chance of that. But I also think that Canada cannot be neutral. There is no good of my arguing the first before this Institute, but I should like to discuss the second. I think that there are three groups of people in the country who believe that it is possible for Canada to be neutral

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ONE is a negligible minority; new people who have never found a home in Canada, in the genuine sense of that term. They have brought to this country the inherited prejudices, dissension and greed of Europe, and they would not like to see Canada at war with their own country. I am going to dismiss that group because I think they are numerically insignificant—they do not count in a discussion of national loyalties.

There are two other groups I must identify by names; there is the Radical-Socialist-Communist group, and there is the French-Canadian group. Before going any further I also should make a careful distinction between the two. I think the policy of the Radical group, and I use that term loosely, is not simply stupid. It is also self-contradictory. I make no such charge against the French-Canadians. Whatever you may think about the French-Canadian thesis, you must agree, I think, that it is a consistent, clear-cut, finely articulated doctrine—it certainly is consistent. The French-Canadian regards himself as being the genuine type of Canadian life. He owes no ancestral allegiance to France, and feels that he was treated rather badly in 1763. He also has no bonds with Great Britain. He fights for Canada, if he fights at all. We may disagree with that view as being selfish, but at least it is a consistent view.

I am going to say something about the third group. I hope you will pardon me if I blaze from both barrels at the Radical. I said his position was self-contradictory. These people who won't fight either for Canada or the Empire until it is too late—when we have lost the first line of defence, Great Britain; but their exalted conception of Canada's position in the affairs of the modern world, would have had Canada fighting the battles of Ethiopia against Italy; they would have had Canada assisting Austria against Germany. It is a year today exactly, that Hitler marched into that tragic country. They would have had Canada fighting for China by economic means if by nothing else, against the insolent hordes of Japan. They would have had Canada in there fighting for every country except Great Britain. In 1938 they would have had us fighting on three

fronts had Canada adopted such a policy, and at the same time, their spokesman in Parliament objected to an increase in Canada's budget for national defence. Obviously, that view is self-contradictory.

The very fact that our sentimental friends struck such a heroic attitude and denounced the military people—you are always perfecting your defence in peacetime—it is one of the guarantees that you are not at war; these very people who would have abolished Canada's power to act with any power at all, insisted that we should accept the burden of fighting on foreign soil. This man who thinks he is fighting for peace by being a pacifist is making peace impossible. He rules himself out of the game—he ceases to count as an element in the international situation. In the last analysis this doctrine of passing heroic resolutions, mistaking moral indignation for a reasoned analysis of the world problems, and thinking we have solved something when we have said a person is a Communist or a Fascist is a farce. People say we can create an economic organization dedicated to peace, that can coerce any aggressor into speedy surrender.

They accuse Canada of having increased its exports to Japan, of having financed the invasion of China by Japan by loans, and having equipped the Japanese war machine with Canadian nickel and other essential war materials. This accusation, as usual, is not founded on facts—a Radical can stand anything but the truth, and when a fact gets in his way he brushes it aside. We have not increased to any comprehensive degree our export of war materials to Japan. I should like to say this; that under modern war conditions no great military power embarks on war until it has first built up a reserve. The idea that you can apply sanctions is remonstrance of the crudest sort. If one nation pushes an economic blockade and the great power is willing to pay the highest price for the war materials, she will get them in any case; it may take her longer, it may cost her more money, but ultimately they will be purchased. Anyone who knows the first axiom of economics, knows that the goods go to the highest bidder. If Japan, Italy, Germany or Russia were forced to pay high prices, they will get the money somewhere to buy the war materials. We must remember that we are dealing with countries who are not concerned with preserving the standards of living, and who will only be deterred when they are facing government re-organization. The question of money won't stop Japan, Italy or Germany, buying whatever war supplies she may need off some other nation. She will pay a premium for refusing to co-operate in a blockade. However, we are concerned with the Far East; which is much nearer to us, by the way. You have this situation. We can only make an economic blockade effective against Japan, if we institute a naval blockade at the point of entry. That means war. Many people have criticized Canada for refusing to come out pointedly on the side of China against Japan. In that debate, which is referred to as the historic debate on May 24th, in the House of Commons, your distinguished and talented friend, Mr. Bennett, delivered a very pointed review on

the British Empire, for failing to come out so conclusively in defence of China. The Premier had no reply. His time was up. But surely the reply is this: that if we are neutral in name, we must also be more neutral in our actions. In fact, if Italy, Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia all refused to take action against Japan, how could anyone have expected Canada to be the sole policeman of the world? Remember that we are only 11,000,000 people, that we have no navy of any consequence, that we have forces within our own country clamorous for a smug security and indecision in the hour of action.

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HOW could we have taken a more opposing stand unless we actually explain what economic sanctions are? Canadian nickel gets headlines as war material, but there are substitutes; a nation can get along without it if it has to—our superior war material is not a factor. If our radical friends of Western Canada actually wanted to help the cause of peace, they could have said to the whole world: "We believe Canada should refuse to ship any wheat to any country which does not live up to the solemn principles of the League of Nations. If a nation cannot buy, then it cannot fight."

That means that, if we are to apply economically crippling sanctions, that we muster—if we are to exact the penalty—the entire army of this country and go on an expedition of our own which cannot end in anything but complete and humiliating failure that is an indictment to our "influential" society.

My whole thesis is that I would welcome having Canada march shoulder to shoulder, inch for inch, and foot for foot, with every other country in the world that was prepared to sustain moral sanctions of the civilized world and organized action for peace. I received another document which would ask Canada to do by herself, what the great powers of Europe and the United States refused to do. We should only be asked to bear our share of the world's burden. I have another point to make about the Radicals—they insisted on having us intervene in conflicts between political creeds.

Shelley described Castlereagh as perhaps the third most accomplished Foreign Secretary that Great Britain has ever had. The reason was that Castlereagh refused to allow Great Britain to take part in the Spanish War of 1820. I have read Castlereagh's speeches, and in such speeches you will find a picture of the present non-intervention in Spain. I am not referring to what has been called the futility of the non-intervention committee. That committee did not succeed in preventing intervention. The purpose of that committee was to localize the war; naturally Great Britain and France had no concern. It was a personal war in Spain.

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The whole history of Spain shows a resort to military force against the Government, which has failed to preserve order, and the Government, in accordance with the wishes of the people, is the accepted representative of the political life of the country, and we were simply witnessing, at the beginning, another grim episode in the grim history of Spain. Unfortunately, what began by being a mere local conflict—a real civil war—soon became, by the breakdown of the non-intervention committee, an international conflict. Spain became occupied with warring political factions. I admit that fact. But I also point out this fact: that the Spanish war was caused by Spaniards, was waged in the beginning by Spaniards, and will be settled, if it is settled at all, by Spaniards. Great Britain is surely a standing and eloquent lesson to this cardinal policy; that Britain never intervenes in any domestic disturbances, until the policy of that country becomes an actual threat to the peace of the world, and her own security. I submit, in all humbleness and in sincerity, that this stage has not yet been reached in the Spanish tragedy. I would wager my reputation as a prophet—after all I am a descendant of the prophets—I think I am a minor one myself—that we would win peace in Spain although Italy won the war.

A Spaniard is nothing if he is not a patriot. He cannot forget that there has not been a single Spaniard shot down on the orders of the British or French Governments. He cannot forget that neither Italy nor Germany can succour a country bled white by the ravishes of war. He cannot forget that Italy and Germany were the assassins of one of the noblest experiments in infant democracy that that country has ever known. The last act in the Spanish tragedy has not yet been written, and I venture to predict it will not be written by a person named Mussolini.

Our Radicals wonder why Canada did not act. They were all for fighting or taking part in what they called the war between Fascism and Democracy in Spain, but how anyone could have found Democracy in Spain with such a Bolshevik leaning towards Russia on the side of the Loyalist Government whose members are not believers in Democracy? If anyone thinks anything at all he knows there was no Democracy; there was merely a progressive few carving their way to a new instrument of representative government. While this experiment was still in its birth-pangs it was dealt a vital blow by military insurrection. We could not have fought for Democracy because it had never been born, so we would have fought for war. We would have been faced with the embittered prejudices of Canadian's anxious to fight everyone's battles but their own— anxious to allow one million Englishmen to die for Spain. I do not think that the price was worth it. It certainly was too big a price to pay; so I say, we have to beware of Canadians who have certain doctrinaire prejudices which drive them to advocate actual armed conflict in distant corners of the world, and these very people object to national defence expenditures, and object to paying Canada's fair share of Imperial defences.

I am not afraid of being called a reactionary by these people. I know that imagination is used by them as a substitute for intelligence. When people call you a reactionary you are simply ignorant, and I am no reactionary except in this sense: that I would like to see this country to come now to the ideals which once were inherent in Canada and which now are in the shelves back of people recreant to the Canadian ideal.

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A WORD about the French-Canadian point of view. I believe that the French-Canadian is honest and sincere and deserves our utmost understanding, but I believe the French-Canadian forgets that the first point of Canadian foreign policy, as outlined by our Prime Minister in 1921, was the preservation of a national unit. We see nothing now in our internal affairs that may dismember Confederation. I sometimes shudder at the possibilities I envisage when I think of what might happen to this country if our other eight provinces are in favor of continued and heroic support of Great Britain and one province takes a laggard position. I was told by General Griesbach that he remembers seeing Alberta troops rushed through Quebec in sealed cars. They thought that was the wise thing to do in 1917 to avoid trouble.

I could cease, and then say I have to take it on the chin. But I suggest this: that the preservation of national unity in the time of war will be the severest test of Canadian statesmanship, and if Quebec adopts a policy—which I personally do not believe she will adopt—which might challenge that unity, we are going to face a new area in our national life—although I do not think we are going to face it. I think the French-Canadian is sufficiently alive to the fact that there is a conflict in the world today between right and wrong and that anyone who consents to the neutrality of a spectator becomes, by his silence and inaction, the noblest type of fool. And I cannot but venture upon a prophecy, that surely any challenge to national unity will find Quebec falling in line, rather than facing it alone. That is a hope, not a prophecy. What I object to in all that attitude is that it allows Canada no time until danger overtakes us.

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We must define our position clearly today. I do not mean by that what Professor Scott of McGill means when he says he wants the Prime Minister of this country to drop all categorical statements, and answer definitely a series of questions purporting to show what Canada will do in a series of hypothetical emergencies. Suppose we do define our foreign policy today, as definitely apart from our national policy—what would happen? Suppose we define our policy as a long range external policy? A situation is facing us today, and the policy we pursue in 1939 may be actually a barrier to any national action in the test which will probably be in 1940, 1942 or 1944.

This policy of blanket commitments, of long range defences—such a policy is unwise and is to be shunned. What I am advocating is a specific foundation for Canada's national armament policy and her relation to the Empire. Seriously, I do not believe that it is either a part of Canada's responsibility, or within her power, to adjudicate in this war between Fascism and Democracy. It is Canada's responsibility to take her due share in the ultimate clash, if that clash unfortunately should ever menace the safety of the Empire, we then have an immediate and direct and personal conflict, and we would then have to fight or perish.

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I COME to my closing remarks. I said neutrality was not simply undesirable. It was unworkable. I shall endeavor to prove this by a series of questions.

Suppose Great Britain was at war, and by some unfortunate mischance the Scott-Corbett group happened to have the governing of Canada, or the government by chance adopted their policies. Suppose we said we were sitting on the fence for a time at any rate. Suppose a British ship limps into a Canadian seaport seeking sanctuary. What are we going to do? Turn it into the open sea to be bombed or sunk? You know the answer. No matter what the Canadian Government has said before that ship limped into one of our ports, that ship will be given protection and from that moment we are no longer neutral.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, or to avoid friction, there is a war between Italy and England. Suppose Italy has placed a series of war orders in this country and they are now loading Canadian ammunition to be used against Englishmen, in a ship in a Canadian port—is that ship ever going to leave Canada? You know the answer as well as I do. Canada will not be neutral. Suppose we agree to send food to Great Britain, even though we are neutral, and I heard that case at Ottawa last May—that we can assume a condition of responsibility for Imperial defence—that we can say that we will go this far and no farther—that we will no longer send expeditionary forces overseas, but we will employ them to protect both our Coasts and act as a granary for the Empire. There are, I

am told, focal highways on the seas, and Canadian ships must pass these points. If the enemy establishes some naval vessels at these focal points, what are we to do? We cannot expect Britain to send cruisers for an isolated Canadian vessel—we will have to run the gauntlet at the focal point, and where will our protection be? Isn't the British Navy the first line of defence? If we are neutral, we cannot accept the assistance of the British Navy, so we cannot feed the Empire, and we cannot even accept conditional responsibility. I say this, that if Britain were at war and the fight was going against them and France and Britain were going under, there would be such a rush to the colors in this country that any government who proclaimed neutrality would be out of office in a few hours.

Our Radical friends would fight for all the Ethiopias and Austrias and Spains and Chinas in the world. Why won't they fight for England? Surely they are fighting for England when they do that. Instead of that, they find a colorful philosophy to justify a hypocritical national policy. They say that the United States cannot possibly allow another foreign power to come to Canada and bomb us. If Japan were to attack Canada, we would seek refuge in the outspread wings of the American eagle. I do not think they have a clear conception of what it would mean in the first place if we were to consent to a permanent position of half neutrality on the North American continent. Until now it has been our proud boast that we are 11,000,000 against 130,000,000. We stand on our own feet. If we accept the American thesis as propounded by these misguided Canadians, we automatically accept a position sinisterly close to that of being a political vassal of the United States. Secondly, we are mistaking the danger—the United States will not protect Canada from an attack from Japan, because for all practical purposes that attack will not come to Canada. I am on dangerous ground, I know, but I think it is unreasonable in defining our immediate problems to project upon our national position, spectral problems which may never actually develop.

Japan has problems enough of her own in the Far East to engage her attention for many years. There is no need for her to cross the ocean on a long-winded expedition to take a pot-shot at Canada—the powers of retaliation for such an adventure are almost as great as those of the aggressor. What I am trying to make clear, perhaps in a fumbling manner, is this: that the people who talk about looking to the United States for protection are concerned only about an attack that comes to Canada, and then we do nothing at all about it, but simply look appealingly to the United States.

My whole thesis is this: that our first line of defence is the Channel, and, if that is pierced and Britain falls, we then lie as an exposed booty to any swashbuckling nation in Europe. Perhaps I am wrong—I hope I am, but I earnestly believe that the safety of this country is linked in a vital degree with the safety of the Empire as a whole.

Department of National Defence Radio Communications in Northern Canada

By Major H. A. Young, R.C.C.S.

IMMEDIATELY after the war of 1914-1919, strong representations were made for better means of communication in the Northern part of Canada. The Hudson's Bay Company contended that, as that company was contributing to the Dominion coffers by revenue on sales and excise taxes, and was helping to open up and establish the northern part of Canada some consideration should be given them to improving the communications system and establishing mails throughout the Northwest Territories and Yukon. It was pointed out that little change had been made in the previous twenty-five years.

R.C.M.P. were also keenly interested in a better service. Immediately after the war there was a large influx of people going into the Northwest Territories as prospectors, trappers and traders. This necessitated a large increase in the duties of the police as, for instance, postal registration of mines and general legal administration. Coupled with this also was the fact that the Department decided to enforce the coastwise trading law. This law was passed to prevent foreign vessels trading along the coast of Canada. Various foreign vessels had been in the practice of trading with the Eskimo along the northern coast of Canada instead of proceeding to one port as, for instance, Herschel Island, discharging her cargo and leaving Canadian waters. It was considered desirable by the police that radio facilities should exist to settle questions concerning customs when the foreign vessels were in the northern Canadian ports.

There was also demand from prospectors and mining companies for communication with the head offices in larger cities in Canada. Dredging activity in the Yukon River at Dawson and the establishment of the silver mines on the Stewart River at Keno Hill near Mayo, oil at Fort Norman, the discovery of copper and other minerals in the vicinity of Coppermine and Bear Lake may be cited as typical examples.

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The normal routes to the Arctic existing in 1920 may be summarized briefly: Hudson Bay boat left Vancouver annually for Herschel Island and trading posts in the Western Arctic. This boat generally arrived safely at Herschel Island, but very often due to

ice conditions, was not able to proceed farther east. The route to Dawson was by way of Vancouver to Skagway, thence by narrow gauge railway to Whitehorse and from Whitehorse to Dawson by river. The Department of Public Works operated a telegraph line from Dawson, out of B. C. through Hazelton. Maintenance difficulties were very great on this telegraph line and, in consequence it was frequently out of operation.

The MacKenzie River route was via Edmonton, The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway to Fort MacMurray, thence via the Athabasca River, Lake Athabasca, the Great Slave River, Great Slave Lake and MacKenzie River. In winter mail leaving Edmonton about the first of November arrived in the MacKenzie delta sometime in January, after a 2,500 mile trip by dog team.

In the eastern Arctic the Hudson Bay boat left Halifax annually, proceeding through the Hudson Straits and visiting Hudson Bay posts at various centres in the Arctic.

The Department of the Interior appreciated the necessity of improved communications and gave consideration to the two outstanding developments of the war-time period, aviation and radio. It was apparent that before air routes could be established there would have to be chains of radio stations covering the area in order to provide weather reports and the control of aircraft flying over the area. The establishment of these stations by commercial companies had indications of being too expensive and the Department of National Defence was requested to carry out the work. The Royal Canadian Corps of Signals was selected to operate and administer the radio system. That corps was assisted by the Royal Canadian Engineers in the design of buildings, by the Royal Canadian Army Service Corps in the provision of suitable supplies, and by the R.C.A.P.C. in matters of pay and allowances.

In 1922 the manufacture of the necessary equipment for the stations was commended in the workshop of "Signals Inspection and Test Department" at Ottawa. In 1923 stations were established at Dawson City and Mayo. This link provided communications for mail by communication with Dawson by radio and thence by the government telegraph line previously mentioned. In 1924 the programme included the installation of stations at Edmonton, Fort Simpson, Aklavik and Herschel Island. The stations at Edmonton and Simpson were installed in accordance with the programme but, unfortunately, the Hudson's Bay boat, "Lady Kindersley," with equipment for the other two stations, foundered on the north coast of Alaska and, while the members of the crew and passengers were saved, all cargo, including that belonging to the Department of National Defence, was lost. In 1925 duplicate equipment was shipped down the MacKenzie River for the Aklavik and Herschel Island stations, and they were installed that year. Fort Smith was also added to the stations in operation by October, 1925.

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Between 1926 and 1930 additional stations were installed at Chipewyan, Resolution, Hay River, Fort Norman and Fort Rae. These stations linked with the ones being established in the northern part of Manitoba and Saskatchewan made a total of some thirty-five stations operated by the Department of National Defence.

Between 1930 and 1939 the mining activity in the pre-cambrian shield area extending from Great Bear Lake eastward necessitated the installation of additional stations at Yellowknife, Gold Fields, Fort Radium and North Battleford. The latter station was installed in 1938 in order to relieve a congestion at Edmonton by providing two outlets for the Northwest Territories and Yukon radio system.

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The traffic handled on the system is all carried out on a commercial basis and using commercial procedure. A charge is made for all traffic handled except that of the Dominion Government departments, which is handled free. The paid traffic of the system is transferred to the commercial telegraph companies at the nearest point of contact. This is Edmonton and North Battleford. The Department of National Defence system is also linked up with that of the U.S. Signal Corps at Fairbanks, Alaska. The American signal corps operates a series of stations in Alaska on a similar basis to that of the system operated by the Department of National Defence in Canada. Thus, for instance, a message from Dawson City and addressed to San Francisco might be routed either by Edmonton or by Fairbanks, Alaska. This provides a certain amount of competition and the routing is governed by the rates existing by each particular system at the time.

When the system was commenced in 1923 long wave transmitters (900 to 1600 meters) were in use. In 1927 short wave was installed as a supplementary means and since that time considerable progress has been made in the type of equipment installed until at the present time radio telephony is available to most of the stations. This means of inter-communication is becoming most important as the stations have provided an aid to aerial navigation. Within the past eight or nine years the system has had to provide at least two channels between stations, one for the handling of commercial traffic and one for the use of aircraft flying between Edmonton and points to the north. When aircraft is in the air stations are on constant watch, giving weather reports and instructions concerning flying activity.

An important part played by the Department of National Defence radio system is the rendering of meteorological reports. Reports are submitted from the stations to the Director of Meteorological Service twice daily. The reports are taken at 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. E.S.T. There is considerable evidence to show that this service has facilitated the accurate forecast of weather in Eastern Canada and the United States. In these centres there appears to be a predominant

ing influence of disturbances which originate in the MacKenzie River valley.

In conclusion it would appear gratifying to us connected with the Militia to see our Department, which, after all, is considered to deal with the matters of national defence, making such a contribution to the peaceful development of the northern hinterland of our great Dominion.



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Impressions from the World Over

By Lieut. Olav Seidenfaden

WHAT I am about to tell you is strictly my own personal impressions and observations, and those could not be referred to my Government, because I could tell you all several other things my Government knows—and I do not think I can tell you all that, because there will not be any outcome before the Chinese-Japanese incident is over, and when that is over—lies in the future.

I will take you on a journey, and I think it will be in order to make a start in Denmark—in the very heart of Scandinavia. I will tell you today, about the set-up in Europe last September. You know that when Germany seized Austria—Germany, of course, was supposed to seize and eat up all Austria—Germany desired to come as a surprise to save Austria, but the way it came to us made us think we were heading for war.

Hitler declared, on the part of Germany, that the Germans had no more territorial claims in Europe. We know that just a few months ago they made some new claims. They were not going to take Czecho-Slovakia. I have been in Czecho-Slovakia and I travelled by rail, by car and by bike. When you are biking through a country you see much more than by train, and I saw a country which to many European peoples was known as one of the happiest and most developed countries in the world, and they had a practical and very well equipped army. While Germany demanded the Sudeten countries back, we did not know that she would take the whole of Czecho-Slovakia afterwards. Then came the revelation that the former allies, France and Britain, would always stand up against the strong nations. We in Scandinavia have had a firm belief in Britain and France, and, of course it came as a great shock to us when we heard that Czecho-Slovakia was going to be delivered over to the Sudeten countries. There was nothing to do—a small country like us could not say much. It was a heavy blow to the small nations to hear that the British and French had given up the fight for Czecho-Slovakia, because they were not prepared.

If you are not aware of this, Chamberlain's policy was very popular. We thought it was great that the Prime Minister of Great Britain himself went to Berchtesgarden, Hitler's summer place in Bavaria, and talked things over with this great gangster, as we call

31st August, 1939.

him over home. However, there are several of that kind in this world and he certainly is one kind of them, and of which kind, it is for you to decide. We thought Chamberlain had the right idea, and I really think he had. He revealed to us what he would do for the peace of Europe and to save peace in Europe. We applauded him because we are a peaceful nation. I remember an incident in Norway. A man in the Norwegian Parliament one day got up and spoke against Chamberlain's policy and what happened to him? He lost his job which goes to show how popular Chamberlain's policy was in Norway.

I think Norway and Sweden felt the same as we did. No doubt it was a great blow to the policy of Britain and France, when this Munich agreement went through. I am telling you only the plain truth. I do not want to favor any British, French or pro-German sentiment because I have not the knowledge. I think that Britain's prestige in Europe after the Munich agreement was dealt quite a hard blow, but we in Scandinavia know that always after a heavy blow Britain recuperates. But this took time to prepare. The English always needed time. As soon as they have time they see it through. We still have the firm belief in Britain we always have had

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NOW this is what happened while I was in Denmark. I was down down on the border. We were just as unprepared as Britain.

I should say even more so, because we have for years been a peace-loving people. When we took over the area it was in a very bad state of affairs; no roads were of any use; the railways were rotten, no public buildings. We had to build it up and we wasted millions before we restored the country. We built excellent roads down to the border through marshy country—very expensive roads—and when the crisis came these roads were ideal for the German military to rush up and seize the whole thing. We were very glad when this Munich agreement came about. I was down there and I had a force of 230 men and 16 machine guns to defend a line five miles long. My orders were to blow up bridges with dynamite so the water from the North Sea could overflow that part of the country. We received information from the border guards that there were German troops just over the border, about 8,000 on lorries and in front of them armoured cars, anti-tank guns and cavalry so they could in no time have taken that part. So we would have been forced to retire to the old place and fight the Germans there as we have done in the past several wars.

Shortly after the Munich agreement I left for China. I was supposed to go through as many European countries as I could before I got there. I first went to Holland. Holland seemed quiet. There was nothing to notice in Holland but Belgium seemed to me

like an armed camp. You could see soldiers in the market and on the streets everywhere. We passed a very careful examination before entering Belgium but some German passengers were stopped and kept from going over the line.

From there I went to France where Daladier had just started that business with the great strike coming—he was going to fight the great strike. France was very distressed after the Munich agreement because they felt just as hopeless as Britain, and they feared that Germany was going to fight them. Many Frenchmen say people in the North and North Eastern part of France sold their properties—even if it were protected by the Maginot line and moved to Brittany, Normandy and South-western France to a new land—they still felt they would have to face another German invasion. France still was very scared of the Germans. To use the word "hate" is not very good. My opinion is that civilized people do not hate each other; they despise each other. But to hate—that belongs to a former uncivilized nation or a very young nation.

I saw on my way to Southern France whole masses of troops being rushed up to the South-eastern part. France has been fortifying her Eastern frontier to Italy for a couple of years because they do not trust the Italians, and they expect in time to have an attack from this quarter. But I would be sorry for the Italians if they ever tried to cross. They would be wiped out.

Take the situation in Spain. Spain was just going through the last throes of the Civil War. I had been to Spain several times before but not in the last few years, especially during the civil war. But there was a Danish officer who was head of the Interventions Committee which controls the supplies of weapons coming through, and he told me a lot about the situation in Spain, and I do not wish to say anything against anyone—but now that Franco has won, he is kept very busy reorganizing the war worn country. He is not going to help Germany—I never thought he was—nor the Italians. Spaniards are not very fond of Italians. Italians are to Spaniards what German officers were to the Turkish Army during the Great

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War. You will find how ridiculous it was that Turkey joined up with Germany as they, as a matter of fact, hated the Germans and wanted to side with Britain and France. But this was impossible because the Sultan was influenced by German advisers.

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LET us go to Egypt. Egypt is a boiling pot of races. They have so many nationalities that you must be very careful in speaking your own language. Egypt is supposed to be an independent kingdom but I think it is less independent than Canada because they still have British troops to defend Egypt. Egypt made an agreement with Britain to take over garrisons, barracks, air force and artillery and they were to pay the British so much a year, but they found that when they were going to fill the agreement they had no money to pay for the barracks and weapons, therefore the Government could not pass the bills. They later appealed to Britain and finally Britain took it over again. I think they made a good bargain. Egypt is full of anti-British propaganda. You will find vicious newspaper articles printed in French and English. English is not the chief language. I do not think they speak more English than they do French.

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I FOUND many papers filled with anti-British propaganda. As the Germans make anti-British propaganda in Germany, so the Germans make propaganda against the British in Egypt. They accuse the British of committing such atrocities as burning small children or using them as bait for crocodiles by way of punishment of unruly tribes. Of course, we do not believe such propaganda because we are not willing to believe it. It is just too childish to discuss. But it may make an impression on uneducated people. A nation governed by dictators issuing that sort of propaganda, you may think, must be quite silly. Yet remember they do not understand because they are not supposed to think or read or know anything about anything except what their leaders say.

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OF course, the Italians say they want a share of the Suez Canal because it is good business, and because oil was found in the South-west part of Suez and is under the management of the Asiatic Petroleum Co. The Italians have been working against the British for years in that country. South Arabia is governed by a king—a country which has very seldom been visited and no one really knows anything about this Hejaz. In South Arabia there were two states that had been fighting each other for a long time. One of these was supported by the Italians and they fought against the other state which was pro-British. Finally it was settled because the Italians had no more money so the pro-British state won.

Of course, Italy had been planning this conquest for quite a time—she wanted Abyssinia. What I know about Abyssinia is not much. I can only tell you what I know from books. Being an uncivilized country they still had slaves and the Coptic church were more or less slave dealers and they held the nation in the deepest darkness of the middle ages. There was a certain reason for the Italian conquest of Abyssinia; we say only that it should never have been taken by Italy— but taken by another more civilized state. Anyhow, the Italians have undertaken to colonize Abyssinia, but they still have a guerrilla warfare to fight, and I do not think they will ever conquer Abyssinia as long as they have not enough money. There are a lot of parts they have not conquered yet. All the belligerent tribes are supported by foreign money and foreign weapons—you yourselves can guess from where the weapons and money comes. Anyhow this Abyssinian venture has cost Italy enormously, and it will cost still more.

We will go on, and we will come to a part of the British Empire; the Indian Empire. My impression of India is, that it belongs to the most colorful part of the world, it is enormously rich and alluring, and it is so fantastic that it cannot be described. You must see it for yourself. Imagine that in this part of the world—this India—you have 357,000,000 people. India has various tribes and races which make it extremely interesting and extremely difficult to govern. Many things can be said against British rule in India, but I admire it, and my father, who has been in the East since 1902 knows a lot about the East which he has told me. I do not want to say anything against British rule in India because no other nation could have managed it so well.

There are a lot of racial problems. It is well known to us in Scandinavia that the British in India do not recognize the colored races. Well, if you want to govern India you have to be careful: if you are going to like the Indians too much, they are going to like you; that is to say you cannot govern them any more. You have to keep them there paces away if you want to be respected. But by and by as they become more developed give them more freedom but don't give them too much, simply treat them justly.

British rule in India has done a lot of good because it has settled the fights between the Mohammedans and the Hindus, and I am quite certain it has proved by incidents only last year how the Mohammedans and Hindus hate each other and if they get a chance they will kill each other. That is what always happened in India before the British came. I cannot speak of the future but I should say the British are quite firmly in the saddle in India at the present time.

I went up to Kashmir and visited the British garrison at Peshawar and saw some wild tribesmen there, the so-called Washiris. They are quite awful looking, and when I was told how they treated

prisoners of war when they are still alive I really believed it only by the look of these people. You probably remember how the people in India are ruled; some of them by the British and some by native Princes with British officials who act as advisers and this is a very clever policy because, as you know, the Indian Princes have promised to support Britain in case of war. There is one more important thing; it is between Ghandhi's supporters and supporters of the Government of India, among whom German and Japanese propaganda is extremely strong. I do not understand why the British-Indian Government does not close down on these printing presses. You know very well if you started anti-Hitler propaganda in Germany you would be put in a concentration camp or told to go home.

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LET us go over to Burma. I consider Burma the most difficult place in the British Empire today. There was recently a mutiny in Burma. You know it is a crown colony and does not belong to India any more. It is ruled by a Governor-General in Rangoon. There is a variety of races in Burma. The Burmese are definitely anti-British. But they are not the only significant part of the population. From most of the other tribes the British recruit troops for the Burmese army, consisting of a very fine type of men and they have no native officers except some Ghurkhas from Nepal in India and these forces under their British officers proved themselves immensely effective during this last rebellion. I know Major Green, who is a battalion commander in Singapore, disguised as a native, was spying among the natives as an Intelligence officer and found out that the whole thing had been stirred up by German and Japanese agents who had been given some money to make propaganda among the anti-British Burmese, and when the channel through which the money came was closed, at once the mutiny amongst the Burmese was finished. You can see how effective it is to cut off the source of supply. That is what is going to happen to Germany.

Let us go over to Siam. Siam is the only independent country in Southwestern Asia. Siam is in many respects a wonderful country. My father is personal adviser to the Government and most of what I know I got from him. Siam is not very big—about the size of France—and has about sixteen million inhabitants. Once the Siamese were a great conquering race and they used to own Southern China, Burma and the Malay Peninsula. The Siamese belong to a race related to the Burmese, and are kin to the Japanese but the Siamese are no more like the Chinese than the Spaniard is Norwegian. Siamese live in a tropical country which, of course, makes the population slow but the population in the hills and mountains is extremely active.

Siam is a very old country, very conservative, and was until a few years ago a kingdom in which the king had absolute right

to decide over the life and death of his subjects. But a rebellion was started by the Siamese who had been to the United States, England, Denmark and France and they forced the king to abdicate his absolute monarchy and become just a shadow king. As a matter of fact, that king has been over here, I believe some of you have heard about it—he stayed at Banff. When the young Siamese party came into power, the first thing they did—everybody was to get the right to vote from the age of 21, both men and women. It was prohibited to have more than one wife—this is a very serious point, because those who had been accustomed to having two or three wives were opposed to it. The Government was very clever, they taxed the man with more than one wife enormously and it cost money to have more than one wife.

Siam, under the young Siamese party, has several aims for the future. They want all back that they lost, and the party to accomplish this must demand the whole of Southern China, and this would bring them into conflict with the Japanese. Anyhow, they want Cambodia back, the Shan States, the so-called Lao States, and a little piece of Burma. It is not fifty years ago that Siam was fighting France. You know that France, after her heavy loss in the Franco-German War, started grabbing countries and territory all over the world, and she came to Indo-China where there were several French missions, and started fighting Siam and robbed her of about half of her territory and she got so far that the British in India saw that it was no good to have France so near India, so they told the Siamese they were going to help them. Bangkok was still the capital. The French Navy came to the river leading to Bangkok, and there anchored in the mouth was a small British gunboat. The French admiral told this small dirty thing to go away, but its commander said: "I stay here where I am, and if you want to get there, you have got to shoot us." The French said: "We are going to shoot you," and the commander said: "Shoot away, but there is something more coming from down South," and he pointed towards Singapore. The French then decided not to risk going up to Bangkok, and Siam was saved that time.

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Of course it was very kind of Britain to aid Siam, but they thought they were entitled to some payment, so they told Siam they wanted the Strait Settlements. So the Siamese said: "We will give them to you." because she had to do it, and they got the immensely rich Malay States—the richest part of the British Empire today. People down there pay practically no taxes. The natives pay very little if they pay anything and every thing is extremely cheap. I never saw so many drunken people among the planters and —??—. It is not the British alone but also the Scandinavians especially Danes who have the highest record for drinking beer and whiskey.

I suppose you have read in the papers that Siam was supposed to be pro-German and pro-Japanese. They are certainly not pro-German and pro-Japanese. If they are anything they are pro-Siamese. that is, they do not want any of us, for they can manage themselves. I remember that during the September crisis the Germans in Bangkok started yelling aloud that the British, Scandinavians and French were going to be thrown out of Siam because Siam and Germany were very good friends. I do not understand that because all the German ships ran out of the Siamese ports as soon as the trouble started, which shows they did not feel themselves very sure and safe in Siamese territory, because Siam fought Germany during the last war, and they fought them because the British and French told them all these extra territorial rights would be turned over to them if she joined, and she did.

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NOW let us come to the Federated Malay States—Strait Settlements—the chief port being Singapore. The main part is the Federated Malay States, ruled by princes, that is ruled by the British, and the unfederated Malay States in the North-eastern part—which was delivered over to Great Britain in 1911, and used to be Siam—the unfederated—ruled by native princes. And, as I said before, that means British rule.

One of the great aims of the Japanese Imperial policy is that when they have obtained Indo-China they will endeavor to conquer this part. It is so funny to observe that the Japanese Navy has always been against the army's intentions to conquer China, because the navy knows that a sea power such as Japan can never conquer such a huge continental power as China. They are in a worse state than Napoleon was in 1812 when he left Moscow, because when Napoleon came home to France, France was not destitute, they still had some money and men left, but when the Japanese soldiers come home, they find they have absolutely nothing. If they get out of it, they get out of it because they find they do not have so many enemies as the French had.

These countries down here belong to the most prosperous and wealthy part of the world. Let us just look at Indo-China for a moment. Indo-China is a French possession consisting of Cambodia, ruled by a king, the Annamite Empire—the parts stolen from the Chinese. The French position in Indo-China is extremely difficult. While I won't say anything against the French, because I admire the French in many ways—they are too much of a colloquial race to criticize. I will only say that the French have used the wrong kind of policy in Indo-China. I will just compare the French rule in Indo-China with the British rule in Burma, or any other part of the British Empire. If you go to a post office in Burma or the police station you see no white people. You will see a Sikh, Burmese or Malay sergeant chief of the station. When you go to a big police station or a big post office, you will find one or two British—everything well organized without any trouble. For instance in the Malay States they have both Sikh and Malay policemen, because if you put two Sikhs together they will probably break in somewhere and rob. They will not report each other because they were Sikhs, and the same happens with the Malays. If you put a big Sikh and a small Malay together, they will inform on each other if anything is out of order.

We will just consider all these small posts held in the British Colonies by natives. I have not seen much of Africa but I have seen places where negroes have posts—they are given part of the government and are trusted and treated as human beings. On the contrary in French Indo-China every small post is held by a former non-commissioned officer, he may be a corporal or sergeant with no education and he does not know how to treat people. He is really the main reason for all the trouble in Indo-China. This ignorant behavior of the French is the reason that today every village or place where there is a white population is fortified. I have not seen any fortified places in India or Malay yet. Of course the French in Indo-China are very much afraid of the Japanese because they would like to get into Indo-China as it is a great, rich country. The French built a great seaport just here which is in a better position than Singapore and would only cost about one-quarter of what Singapore cost. The object is to have a post nearer in order to repel Japanese attacks. If the Japanese ever landed in Indo-China they would get a very hot welcome because the French are not so foolish as you may think after my statement, but they have all these wild tribes here, organized as excellent soldiers. I saw some drilling in Hanoi—the capital—which reminded me of the best drilling I have seen German soldiers doing. We saw them march the goose step with bare feet and the ground was full of stones and thorns and nothing seemed to hurt them. The French wanted them to carry boots but they were nearly going to rebel so the French said: "We will let them have their dirty feet and save trouble."

* * * * *

I WILL now come to the main subject. This is China, where I spent most of my time. The Chinese is an immense Empire, more than one million square miles larger than Canada. The number of inhabitants should be about 450 millions. Somewhere it is only estimated to be 425 millions or sometimes 400 millions. As a matter of fact no one really knows how large a population they have, but no doubt 400 millions is a lot and is quite enough for the Japanese.

You must understand the history of China, the oldest empire in the world. People have lived in China in some places for several thousands of years. Compared with Japan, China is an old and clever man while Japan is young and foolish. China is an originator. Japan is an imitator. They will always remain imitators because all they create is imitation. The Chinese and Japanese are related and in some respects very alike. They are different in other respects. The Chinese are a peace-loving nation. Often families can go on as they did for thousands and thousands of years.

Japan has the idea she is superior to China. While I would say that the Japanese is nearly always inferior to the Chinaman I never liked the Chinese before I came to China, but I certainly do now. I have heard it very often stated: you will like the Chinese, they are so very clever and honest. Just look at the Chinese we have in this country. Generally speaking I do not think the best Chinese are the type who emigrated to Canada. The Chinese I have seen here are only a certain part of the Chinese, because there are thirty races of Chinese in this world. China is so immense, and the Chinaman cannot be the same man all over. The South Chinaman is a short and sturdy fellow compared with the North Chinaman who is a tall, strong, light coloured man. The reason China has never been a strong Empire is that it has always been invaded; never been able to agree; that is to say that they have never been able to co-operate. In China they argue too much and everybody thinks he is the cleverest. The national feeling you have in Japan usually does not exist in China, but it is growing now under Chang Kai Chek.

A few years ago the North Chinaman would not work with a South Chinaman, because the North Chinaman thought he was better than the South Chinaman. The Japanese, like the Chinese, have a very strong feeling for family life and respect for the old people. But the Japanese has a firm belief that he is going to be the conqueror of Asia. China was unorganized, unprepared and undeveloped when Japan attacked her for the first time.

Let us look back into history. When the Europeans came to China they demanded certain concessions. You know the purpose of the British and French fighting the Chinese. The British got Hong Kong and the French Kwang Chow, and later the French got a concession at Shanghai, and they got these concessions because China had never been able to repel attacks. Shortly afterwards the British got a concession. The Americans said they wanted

concessions, and finally Japan said they wanted a concession and got it. As a matter of fact Britain got concessions all around China. You know the difficulties they are in at the present time at Tientsin. These British and French concessions are very difficult to defend.

China has for the last century been quite defenceless, because she refused to accept military development as Japan has done. If China had started her modern development at the same time as Japan I believe she would have been the mightiest power in the world today and I believe, and lots of other people believe, because China has people—very clever people who can create. She has all kinds of raw material she can use. She has coal and iron and cotton—all she wants and still more. You can grow rubber in South China. They have Manchuria— Manchukuo was, of course, taken over by the Japanese. They have rich oil wells and coal mines there too. But China kept on going on the old thesis, they wanted to stay where they were and this of course is why she is so far back now in modern development. That is what Chang Kai Chek realized, and the Chinese are going to realize it. The Japanese aggression in China has impressed the Chinese so much that there is only one thing that can save them and that is unity. Chang Kai Chek has for years been fighting Communists and you know that Chang Kai Chek was educated in a Japanese military school, and he was Japanese, to a certain extent, until they attacked China. At the time Japan took Manchukuo, as you know, the United States said to the British, "You must help us, we cannot let Japan conquer the East", but the British did not do anything. They said it was not their affair. This meant that Britain wanted China weakened, because Britain has always got that policy, the balance of power. If one power gets too strong, she has always helped the second power to fight the other one. That is the reason that Japan got Manchukuo. If Chang Kai Chek had not been occupied by fighting the Communists they could have repelled the Japanese attack then, because they were not so strong then as they became later. Of course, this country for Europe had been for a great part profitable, and also been profitable to the Japanese. As a matter of fact, no European or individual American power could do anything in China to help the Chinese by military intervention or military strength. A British fleet over here would be helpless, if it neared the Japanese naval bases which are very well fortified.

* * * * *

IT is so funny to notice that this one incident could have been stopped a year ago if the Americans had said: "We won't sell them any more war material and we won't buy a bit more from Japan." Over 50% of Japanese goods go to the United States and over 65% comes from the United States, and they cannot fight without money. That is what Hitler thinks. It is funny for he really thinks he can fight without money. The Japanese thought that if they co-operated with Germany and Italy, they could gain immensely

in the East. As a matter of fact, for a time, when the Japanese were doing things in China, the Germans were doing things in Europe because they knew the British could not concentrate on two remote frontiers at the same time.

The tense situation at Tientsin was mainly due to German propaganda or German pressure, and while everybody was talking about it in China, I did not know how true it was, but it came out later. The Germans had a tremendous lot of opportunity in China. The Japanese were promised help by Germany in the East, and when Germany demanded 60% of all trade in Manchukuo and they got it. But before that there was not a German thing you could buy in China, and they had a large trade in China but they are going to lose it now, and the Japanese are going to stop them. I think it very remarkable that Germany made that anti-aggression pact with Russia, because Russia could not give her aid. If Russia goes to war the whole system will break, and that is what will happen to Germany if she goes to war. It would be very fortunate for us. How much it will cost will remain to be seen after the war.

The reason the Japanese gave to invade China is even more silly than the reason the Germans gave when they invaded Czechoslovakia after the Munich agreement. That is to say it is funny how the Japanese have always tried to force China to buy their products and at the same time take territory from China. Of course the Chinese did not like that; the Japanese wanted them to buy their products and give away their country, so there came a very strong anti-Japanese feeling in China. The Japanese Government wanted to suppress that feeling. They first tried to take Shanghai several years ago and they were actually repelled. The Japanese wanted to make China into a vassal state—this is quite a big aim; I was going to say trying to become multi-millionaires here. I do not know if the Japanese have thought of that yet. Maybe you will guess. The Japanese have a definite belief that they are the superior people of the world and they really believe that by fighting the Chinese they are going to save their souls from the so-called Communist in China; and the Japanese people in Japan do not know anything about the situation in China at present. They still believe the Japanese have treated the Chinese very well.

I suppose you have read in numerous articles that it is very bad. In Shanghai when the Chinese are passing the Woo Sung bridge—one side of the bridge facing the International Settlement is occupied by British troops, and the other side you get those short, ugly Japanese, and when the Chinese are passing the Japanese sentries they must take off their hats and make a very deep bow. That is not very clever but it is enough.

Another thing is the way they treat the women in conquered territories. I am not going to describe it here. It is more than awful. It can easily compete with what the Germans did to the in-

habitants of Belgium and certain parts of France during the Great War. I only know what I read of that, but the old soldiers here know much more about it than I do.

Just imagine if Japan wins, which is absolutely impossible. If they win the war in China they will only win so much that they can save their face, and I think that the only way they can save their face in China is to try and attack Britain and the United States and then get out of China, and say it was because of Britain and America that they had to give up the venture in China. If Japan wins Japanese will take all the concessions. Europeans will be expelled to a certain extent. Later if they win the Europeans will be thrown out and eventually the Japanese themselves will be eaten up by the Chinese. If China wins, which she won't in that way that she will remain unconquered by the Japanese. She will get out of the war because Britain would never see China beaten completely nor could Britain afford to see Japan beaten completely because she has immense interests in both countries. It would be very bad policy for Britain if any of them wins or loses so it has to be fifty-fifty. Let me say Britain will support China so long as she is strong enough to tell the Japanese to go, and then she will control China with her great banks—Hong Kong, Shanghai Bank and the chartered Bank of India.

* * * * *

IT is quite evident if you support the Chinese you can still buy something with Chinese money, but not very much. That is one reason the Japanese are so mad because they know the money is still in the hands of the British. If China wins it will be the end of European concessions and European trade in the East. It will be worse than if Japan wins, because of what has happened. This national feeling I have been talking about is at present so strong. Chinese officers speak German because the army has been organized by Germans and lots of them speak German quite fluently, and as I know a bit of that language too, I could speak to these people and they

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told me: "You are a Dane, that is why I can speak openly to you. You sell us good machine guns and they are not so expensive as the British or American or German guns and you do not want to conquer us. Our aim is that when we have smashed Japan and when the Japanese are gone we are going to take over the country and we are going to unite everybody"

I believe this is very true because the Chinese, while they may like Europeans to a certain extent, more than Japanese anyhow, the Europeans after all forced the Chinese to give them concessions, forced the Chinese to recognize them, forced them to trade with them. Meanwhile, however, they considered the Chinaman as only a servant or inferior. There is no doubt of it. I think they will win and they will smash Japan if the Europeans give them enough support.

* * * * *

THE great question in the East is Russia and that day of the truce—that day she knows her Western border is completely secure and safe and that day they know China is so weak she cannot defend herself she will come down and wipe out the Japanese through Manchuria and they will come from Vladivostok with thousands of heavily loaded bombers and destroy the Japanese big cities of Tokio, Yokohama and Kobe with their huge armament plants. That is the reason Japan is very angry at present at Germany because she knows she has to tackle Russia alone and she cannot tackle Russia because she is very exhausted with her war in China and one day she will be rendered helpless to the Red army of Russia.

It is nothing but the truth. We have always heard the Japanese are good fighters because they have religion, because they have training and they are brave. As long as the Japanese can follow instructions he is a good soldier, but if he is faced with a problem of which he has never heard or experienced he is helpless. It was evident to us when they bombarded Shanghai in 1937. All the large battleships were lying just outside Shanghai two or three miles away and they tried to hit the station in Shanghai and could not hit it for days. All the shots went over. They could not hit it because they had never tried to fire at targets on land but had always been firing at targets on the sea and they could not see where the shells landed. The were quite helpless and practically could not support the Japanese forces on land.

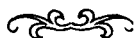
According to the papers all around the world about this Shanghai incident it was told that the Chinese lost about four times as many men as the Japanese which is perfectly untrue because I have spoken to people who had been watching this incident. A British officer who had been watching the struggle just a few yards away in the International Concession out of a window and saw the Japanese and Chinese actually fighting, told me that the Japanese were heavy losers. I was told that the Japanese were shot down in huge numbers

by Chinese machine gun and rifle fire and you know the story about the famous warehouse in Shanghai: the Japanese tried it for several weeks but they could not. The Chinese showed in the Shanghai incident to be splendid fighters and to be far superior to any Japanese.

At present the Japanese in China hold a very weak position. They only control all the rivers, canals and railways, and the few roads there are in China, and the Japanese soldier dares not leave his camp at night, because of the Chinese guerilla forces. They want to finish up China but they cannot. You know that the Japanese tried to put up a puppet king in China, and get the Chinese to follow him and this aim was going to make Chang Kai Chek an outlaw, but they did not succeed because the Chinese national feeling was too strong. They could not buy the Chinese any more. The reason Hangkow was absorbed was because of treachery. The Japanese bought lots of Chinese officers and got control of Hangkow. You know Hangkow had been ruined when the Japanese entered it. This is Chang Kai Chek's worst fear, that he cannot overcome the Chinese feeling for money—that the Chinaman is not able to resist money offered.

While I think that the Japanese in China are finished, that is not to say finished today, tonight or tomorrow. But they have lost all the chances to get a fair victory in China because they have used the wrong means to conquer China. They would probably have conquered China by propaganda better than by murderous attacks on helpless women and children.

I will only say as a finish that I do not mean that I would like to see the Chinese win in China. I only say that she won't win a clean victory, because somebody else cannot afford to let her win, and the whole business is money as I think it is in the present crisis in Europe today.



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Restitution

By The Editor

"Restitootion," said the corporal of the stable piquet, plucking a straw from the bale he was sitting on. "Restitootion's the word. Nobby and me and Jerry would have gone down for detention over the keg of beer we pinched from the canteen only the ol' man says seein' we'd made restitootion 'e'd let us orf with a reprimand."

"That was the best way out of it," said I

"I guess p'raps it was," the corporal of the stable piquet agreed a little unwillingly. "Didn't I never tell you that story?"

"Well, y'see it was this way. It 'appened when we was in Sarcee trainin' before the militia come in—or after they'd gorn. I don't remember which. One night after supper me and Nobby and Jerry gets thirsty. Bein' as we was broke and havin' no credit at the canteen (and besides the canteen was a 'ell of a long way from "C" Squadron lines) there wasn't much we could do about it except lie there in a perishin' 'ot bell tent and take it in turns to say: "Gawd, I wish I 'ad a drink!"

"Then all of a sudden Jerry up and says: "I know 'ow we can get a drink."

" 'Ow?' I inquires, disinterested like.

" 'Short o' pinching it', says Nobby.

" 'That's just it,' says Jerry. 'Pinch it.'"

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" 'Yus, an' finish up in the clink,' says Nobby. "Shut up an' don't be so ruddy dumb."

" 'Look 'ere,' says Jerry, sort o' peeved like. 'Wot you blokes ain't got's imagination. That's wot's wrong with you. You ain't got my ingenooity.'

No more we 'ad when it come to scrounging a drink an' we says so. But even 'e'd never got so low as stealing it before—except o' course, the times 'e'd took another man's, makin' out 'e'd done it by mistake.

" 'All right,' I says. 'Wot's the game?'

" 'Well' says Jerry. It's this way. If us three blokes ain't 'efty enough to carry out a keg full o' beer pretendin' we're a fatigue party takin' away the empties we ain't got no business in the Service. That's all I got to say.'

"But me an' Nobby 'esitated. It didn't look honest like an' wot was worse it didn't look safe. But Jerry was so sure it could be done that Nobby, bein' thirstier than me, give in. An' rather than 'old up the works I capistolated, sort of, meself.

"We walks over to the canteen where there was a noo man on dooty in front o' the bar. Nobby says to 'im, 'e says: "Corporal," 'e says—the man was a perfectly good trooper same as us—"Corporal, please can you tell us where to get the empty kegs?" An' right off the dooty man gets chesty and as anxious to oblige as a porter wot's expectin' a 'arf dollar tip. 'E calls out, 'Stoord, show these men where to get the empties.' An' with that we goes be'ind the bar an' Jerry starts a-reconnoiterin' to see which is the full ones.

" 'Is these them?' 'e inquiries, 'ittin' one of them a kick which gives orf a 'ollow sound. 'Or is these them over 'ere?'

" 'No,' shouts the stoord. 'For cripes' sake don't touch them. Them's the full ones.'

"So when the stoord wasn't lookin' we walks out with one o' them ones an' marches out past the hobligatin' dooty man who tucks 'is whip under 'is diengaged arm in a smart an' soldierly manner and opens the door for us with 'is own lily-white gloved 'and.

'It was a long way back to the squadron lines but we got there and settles down an' starts ingratiatin' our thirst like. We drinks what we can an' what we can't we sells to the men on stable piquet (I wasn't a corporal then) an' the men off dooty wot was too lazy to walk to the canteen. At ten cents a tin mug we made a tidy bit

"Me an' Jerry an' Nobby 'ad thick 'eads w'en reveille went the next mornin' but by night we was feelin' so near normal that we was still thirsty. By this time, o' course, we'd got the price of a honest beer but naturally, y'understand, we didn't feel like a-spendin' 'good money on it if we could get it as easy as we got it the last time. So over we goes to the canteen again an' soon's the stoord seen us 'e cries: 'All right, boys, this way for the empties.' An' over we 'ops.

But when we was 'aulin' the keg out the dooty man—a different one wot we'd forgot to smooth down first—spots us an' says: 'Ere, w'ere are you men goin' with that there?'

" 'We've come for the empties, sarjint,' says Jerry. This bloke was a buck trooper same's the other.

" 'Come for me Aunt Mary,' says 'e. 'That's a full keg you're takin' away an' you know it.'

" 'Is it?' says Jerry, scratchin' 'is 'ead apologetic like. 'Sorry corporal. I thought it was a empty. We'll take it back'

" 'Yus, you'll take it back all right,' says the dooty man, very disagreeable, an' when you've took it back you'll consider yourselves under arrest.'

"Well, the next mornin' me and Jerry an' Nobby was up on the tappy charged with stealing one keg o' beer an' to 'ear that dooty man's evidence you'd a thought we took the full keg instead o' the empty a-purpose. But 'e almost broke down under crawss-examination when our squadron commander, who was a-defendin' of us, asks 'im if it was not a fac' that we tuk the beer back. 'E admitted we 'ad an' we might 'ave got orf then if the stooard 'adn't remembered a few things over night. When it come 'is turn to give evidence 'e told 'ow we'd done the same thing the night before. But

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still our squadron commander didn't take it lyin' down. 'Im an' the adjutant, who was a-prosecutin', got into a argument about identifiyin' the stolen property an' at last the C.O., who was gettin' 'ungry for 'is lunch, adjourns the 'earin' until the next day.

"Nex' mornin', before regimental orderly room time, the squadron sar'-major parades us to the squadron orderly room. The major was there an' the R.S.M. an' the stooard an' after the major 'ad 'ad a whispered conversation with the R.S.M. 'e turns to us as polite an' kind as you like. 'E was sorry, 'e says, that you men—meanin' us—'ad got ourselves into this un'appy position over wot 'e was sure was only a innocent prank. 'That's all it was, wasn't it?' 'e says. An' me an' Jerry an' Nobby kind o' choked an' whispered, 'Yessir' one after the other. An' the major says: 'The canteen stooard says 'e's willing' to take restitootion in the sum of twelve dollars an' twelve cents, the value of the stolen keg—not the one you were caught stealin' y'understand, but the one you stole. Er—that's right, isn't it, stooard?'

"An' the stooard clicks 'is 'eels and says, 'Yessir' as regimental as if 'e was the R.S.M. 'isself. An' the major turns to us again an' says, 'Are you men prepared to make this restitootion?' An' we says, 'Yes, sir,' very quiet an' 'umble like. Then the major give us a callin' down an' told us 'ow bad we'd been an' not to do it again an' that it would go 'ard with our army careers if we 'ad regimental entries on out conduc' sheets but that 'e would ask the C.O. to let us orf with a reprimand in view of our exemplary conduc' if we was willing to make restitootion. An' me an' Jerry an' Nobby says: 'Yes, sir' one after the other again.

"So when we got before the colonel and 'eard the nice things the major 'ad to say for us there was tears in our eyes. We never thought 'e knoo us so well. Then the old man turned to the adjutant and asked it is was satisfactory to 'im to dispose of the case in this way. An' the adjutant says: 'Oh, yes sir. Perfec'ly.' The ol' man give us another wiggin' on top o' what we'd got from the major but longer. 'E might 'ave been talking yet if the R.S.M. 'adn't suddendy took it on 'isself to bark out, 'Pris'nersnescort ri' turn quick march 'ead lef' wheel.

"Five minutes after that me and Nobby an' Jerry was free men gettin' ready to go on parade with the squadron without a spot on our characters. An' before dinner we went into the canteen an' bought a pint apiece honest."

I said: "I see. You still had the price of a pint after making restitution."

"Price!" echoed the corporal of the stable piquet. "Wot do you suppose we did with the profit we made out o' bottleggin' that there stuff around the squadron lines?"

The Arab Point of View

THE Zionist movement is the arch-enemy of Israel, accentuating, as it does, the characteristics of divided loyalty and extreme nationality which have made it difficult for Jews to get along in the world.

This view was put forward by Mr. Fuad K. Mufarrij, general secretary of the Arab National Bureau at Damascus at a joint luncheon of the Institute and the Kiwanis Club, Calgary, on February 20th

Mr. Mufarrij thought the Jews could hardly reconcile their exclusive nationalistic claims in Palestine and attendant suppression of freedom for the majority there with their outspoken condemnation of policies being pursued in dictator countries.

He said the Jewish point of view had been highly propagandized and the democracies knew too little of the Arab point of view. For one thing, he said, the Arabs were not anti-Semitic. How could they be when they themselves were the purest of Semites?

Nor was there a religious issue. There were 150,000 Christians in Palestine, of whom he is one, said Mr. Mufarrij. There were two million Christians in the rest of the Arab world.

Mr. Mufarrij said if the Jews insisted on pressing forward their immigration policy in Palestine the world might shortly be confronted with the problem of a million more refugee Jews. There are that many Jews in the Arab world outside of Palestine.

The Jewish problem was not the supreme and most dangerous problem in the world. There was a Spanish problem, a Chinese problem and the problem of the human race at large. Instead of contributing to the world-wide conception of liberty, the Zionist movement was obstructing progress and was destroying the last moral leg the Jewish race had to stand on.

The Jew, instead of being the defender of liberty and democracy, was, while attacking totalitarianism on the one hand, asking the world to disregard the will of the majority in Palestine and suppress liberty there. By what right did the Jew attack the German conception of Aryan race supremacy when he regarded his own as the supreme and chosen race?

The Arabs sympathized with the Jews in their trouble elsewhere, but they refused to have the strategically important section of their land appropriated from them. The Arabs had taken 400,000 Jews and it was now up to the rest of the world to do at least one-tenth as much for the Jews.

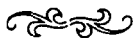
There was a great danger of a demagogue arising in the Arab world today if the Jewish menace were pressed too far and it would be impossible to answer for the consequences.

Mr. Mufarrij said the Zionist project had proved an economic failure. Eighty million pounds sterling had been poured into the country, and, if the artificial economy was not to collapse, more money and more immigrants must follow. The Jewish national home was living only on protection and charity.

Mr. Mufarrij asked his audience whether they, as Canadians, would sell out their birthright for one more half-grapefruit a morning. The Japanese and Chinese farmers in Canada had made more out of Canadian soil than Canadian peasants, yet was this justification for ceding China to them

Mr. Mufarrij refuted all claims to Palestine which, he said were made by the Jews. He said that for the last two thousand years Jews have had no political connection with the country. They had never possessed the country, but only the few scattered hilltops of Jerusalem.

The Arabs were democratic by nature. They asked no more than a safeguard for liberty and the right to govern by majority with safeguards for minorities. Solution to the Palestine problem would come through cessation of Jewish immigration, and the signing of a treaty of alliance and mutual assistance pact between the Arabs and Great Britain.



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European Situation, May, 1939

EXPRESSING belief that the Central Powers of Europe did not pay much attention to those who just talk, but only to those who talk with military strength, Lieutenant-Colonel A. Hamilton Gault, D.S.O., called for a united British front against aggressive nations when he addressed an Institute luncheon in the Renfrew Club, Calgary, on 11th May.

Colonel Gault spoke on "The European Situation," tracing events leading up to the last war which he said was carefully planned by the aggressors as far back as 1904. He said the three great milestones reached by Germany since the signing of the armistice were:

1. Propaganda by Germany stating the country was endeavoring to fulfil obligations but was unable to do so unless financial assistance was given, with the result money started pouring into Germany.

2. How could Germany fulfil the Treaty of Versailles until self-respect was restored?

3. Nazi government going into power in 1933.

"What has happened since?" he asked. "Hitler has won one triumph after another and in his campaign are to be found the outstanding qualities of some of the greatest former leaders of the world.

"Since he came into power he has won three major wars with hardly a shot being fired. There was the entry of German troops into the Rhineland, the taking of Austria and the breaking up of Czechoslovakia. His diplomatic triumphs are by no means small. As a result of the failure of sanctions a powerful axis has grown around which he hopes the other nations of the world will revolve."

Colonel Gault said the foreign policy of Germany is practically complete. "The question of colonies is yet to come," he said.

Referring to Poland being threatened by German troops, Colonel Gault said war depends on the ability of statesmen and diplomacy, and it is no use mobilizing public opinion unless backed by strength on which it would be supported.

"There has been much talk of mobilization of public opinion," he continued. "Whatever you think of the Munich agreement, it was only those in authority who had all the information available in order to make decisions. We also had six months more of peace during which time England was not idle."

The Canadian Legion, B.E.S.L.

Problems of the Present War

The Canadian Legion, while it can never be unmindful of the needs of men and women who served from 1914 to 1918, is by its Constitution charged with caring for the interests of men now serving. That service the Legion would give in any event because it desires to serve and the Legion can think of no way in which it could more effectively serve the country than by making available to the men now taking the places of those who are the Legion's membership the benefit of the Legion's accumulated knowledge and experience until such time as they are re-established and in a position to determine their own future. Therefore the Legion has issued "certain observations," reprinted below with regard to the new problems which now arise, and particularly in regard to pensions and rehabilitation. These observations follow.—

IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS:

(1) Dependent's Allowances.

The Government apparently determined, and we approve of the determination, that the matter of allowances to dependents of men who enlist in the Armed Forces should be the responsibility of the Government. We feel that if we are proceeding upon a basis of voluntary service it is the duty of the country to see to it that the dependents of these men who are enlisted are adequately cared for by the State so that the burden may be uniformly borne and not borne by those generously minded citizens who habitually contribute to charitable appeals. We therefore approve of the principle but regret that the Regulations, as originally drawn up, appear to us to have been unduly restrictive, so much so that the policy initiated was to a large degree thwarted. Hundreds of cases were brought to our attention as a result of which we were able, by reason of our extensive experience in dealing with similar problems, to appreciate the cause of the difficulties. We approached the Minister of National Defence on December 19th, 1939, and submitted to him a comprehensive memorandum. While we do not claim that the action subsequently taken was as a result of our representations, we are glad to note that steps were taken to improve the situation, and to be able to state that conditions are now definitely improved. By the action taken we assume that it is the policy of the Government to make these allowances on a reasonably generous basis, consistent with due protection of the Treasury, and elimination of fraud, and that they should be administered on a humanitarian basis. As a result of our experience we make the following recommendations:

- (a) That the administration of the system of Dependents' Allowances and the making of Regulations in connection there-

with should be placed under either the Canadian Pension Commission or the War Veterans' Allowance Board, whose personnel has had extensive experience with such problems.

- (b) That the principle of Assigned Pay and Dependents' Allowance Regulations should be established on the premises that an assignment of pay by a member of the Forces to a dependent creates a prima facie case of dependency, and where dependency is shown to exist, particularly in cases of dependents other than wives, that the amount of Allowances should be fixed as nearly equivalent as possible to the married rate set out in Article 101 (a) of the Regulations, and should embrace allowances for a dependent parent and, if applicable, on behalf of two minor brothers or sisters where and while the soldier is shown to be the sole support of the family.
- (c) That the practice of taxing pre-enlistment contributions towards the maintenance of a dependent other than a wife to the amount of \$15.00 a month to represent the costs of board and lodging be discontinued, except in cases where the pre-enlistment monthly contribution was more than \$55 00 a month.

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(2) Assigned Pay.

The original Regulations in this respect were rather restrictive but have since been somewhat liberalized. It is our thought however, that they might go still farther. It is generally agreed that be the War long or short, conditions after the War are going to be difficult. The existence of a little nest egg on demobilization would be a great help. As Service pay goes, the pay of our men is generous and they should be encouraged to save, and they could easily do so. Some system of savings should be provided, offering interest higher than current as an inducement. When a man returns from Service, unless he has an assured position, he gets an obsession for security—his one desire is to ensure a living—he will grasp at almost anything which assures him of that, and thereby complicates the problem of orderly rehabilitation. If he had some financial background his outlook might be different.

(3) Enlistment Problems:

So far as we can judge the policy of the Government is orderly enlistment according to needs and without undue interference with the economic life of the country. But there are a great many young men who are keenly desirous of enlisting and when enlistment is opened at any depot they throng there to offer their services. Frequently they go long distances; generally they are without very much in the way of financial resources. The medical examination routine, of which we entirely approve as tending, if properly done, to eliminate a tremendous burden of subsequent pension disability, takes time and by the time the final decision is given the men are frequently "broke." They turn to The Legion for help but there are limits to what The Legion can do. We feel that it is high time that some system should be devised whereby men who desire to enlist may have an opportunity of being medically examined at their own homes or else it should be publicly announced that men from outside recruiting centres would not be accepted. We cannot believe that it is the duty or responsibility of private citizens to supply meals, beds and transportation for zealous young men, who in their eagerness to serve their country, unfortunately make themselves the objects of charity. We desire a clear cut announcement of recruiting policy which will make this impossible.

(4) Discharges.

Closely allied to the foregoing is the man who is accepted, gives up his job and then after two, three or more months is discharged medically unfit. We cannot believe that under winter conditions which have prevailed this year the health of any man has been seriously impaired as a result of service. Consequently if a man is subsequently found to be unfit it must be due to faulty medical examination at the outset. To turn a young man who has indicated his willingness to serve and to give his life, if need be, adrift, in the middle of winter is we believe, cruel, and while we entirely approve of elimination of the unfit, thereby relieving the man from unnecess-

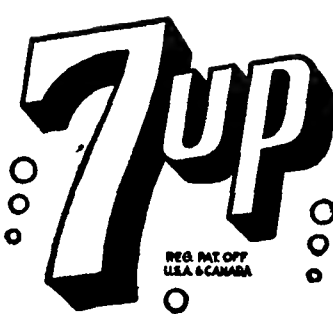
ary suffering and ensuring a reduction of the pension bill which we will ultimately have to pay, yet we cannot believe that the country is being fair in turning such a man adrift until some provision is made for his employment or at least for his subsistence until such time as he can become re-established.

(5) Marriages.

We admit that it would be very difficult for the Government to regulate marriages by men in the Service. We need not discuss the question of widows' pensions, for if the Government is willing to assume that liability we have nothing to say. But we are not so much concerned about the widows. They will be automatically provided for. What we are concerned about is the rehabilitation of these men and the post-war care of their wives and children. If they are not pensioners, is the Government prepared to ensure their care and maintenance? If our experience over the last twenty years is any guide the answer is certainly not. We have absolutely no objection to unrestricted marriage, tending as it does to secure replacement of casualties by children of the kind we want in this country. But we do insist, if such marriages are approved and recognized, that they should be recognized after demobilization and the young man who has never worked, who is by training unqualified to support a wife and family, should not after the war become, with his wife and family, an object of public charity. It is all very well to be sentimental about these matters, but when the war is over neither the Government nor the people will worry very much about the problem. The veterans of the last war and of this war will be left "holding the baby," and therefore we feel it our duty to direct attention to the matter now so as to strengthen our position and the position of the new veterans who will have to face the problem. The policy of the Government should be determined now and the veterans of the new war should not be called upon to wrestle with this problem as we have had to do. Let us repeat, we have no objection to unrestricted marriage with the consequent increase of population, provided the

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Government and the public of this country are prepared to assume the responsibility of ensuring that the men contracting these marriages are assured of an opportunity of adequately providing for a wife and family when Army pay and allowances cease.

(6) Proposals to Aid Pension and Treatment Administration.

Shortly after the outbreak of this War we took occasion to submit to the Government certain observations as to matters which, in the light of our experience, should not be overlooked by those in authority. We presume that Officers of the Government were equally well informed on these matters and therefore claim no especial credit for the fact that medical examination has been much more thorough than in the last War, and particularly in the steps taken to detect incipient tuberculosis. As a result we believe that many hundreds of such cases have been detected, and many lives saved, and incidentally, many millions of dollars in pensions. But as far as we know, other recommendations equally valuable, and based on experience, have not been implemented, and which if implemented would make the pension problem infinitely less difficult than it was in the last War, and incidentally save the country a great deal of money, because it requires little demonstration to show that a great deal of money has been wasted in the last twenty years by pension investigations, Royal Commissions, Parliamentary Committees, and experimental systems of Administration, owing to dissatisfaction with existing conditions—all mainly due to faulty medical examination on discharge, faulty documentation, coupled of course, at times, with administration based on a bureaucratic rather than on a humanitarian basis. In order to give the Pension Commission a fair chance to discharge its duties we recommend as follows:—

(a) Instructing Officers in Principles of Pensions.

In the last War probably not a single Officer had the foggiest idea about pensions. In the present War a few who have been active members of The Legion may have a rudimentary knowledge. Yet a full understanding of the principles of pension should be regarded as essential in a Regimental Officer in order that he may be able to record significant facts which thereafter might have a bearing on a man's right to entitlement. It should be a recognized practice that facts which thereafter might have some relation to pension claims should be carefully recorded in documents to be thereafter available. For instance, if a number of men were blown up by a shell and buried, there might be no immediate effects, but there might be resulting latent effects which could be accounted for by that incident. Therefore we recommend that all Company Officers and all non-commissioned Officers be given a course of instruction in the principles of pension.

(b) Documentation of Complaints on Service.

Allied to the foregoing and of great importance is documentation of complaints on service. We have hundreds of cases in which the man complains that he reported sick on service and received medicine and duty or medicine and light duty, of which no record is available. To obviate fraud in building up cases by fragmentary evidence based on hazy recollection, and to ensure entitlement in deserving cases, we believe that the system of recording sick parades in units should be considerably improved. The M.O. of a unit should have an Orderly whose duty it is to record every complaint made—the decision of the M.O., and the treatment indicated. Properly carried out this procedure would greatly simplify the process of pension adjustment.

(c) Liaison Between C.A.M.C. and Dept. P. and N.H.

In particular we strongly recommend that there should be the closest liaison between the C.A.M.C., who are responsible for treatment of men on service and the Treatment Branch of the Department of Pensions and National Health, who are responsible for post-war care, and which Department is subsequently charged with the duty of providing pension and treatment. It is admitted that the primary duty of the C.A.M.C. is to salvage casualties and to secure their return to service. But Canada cannot afford any loss of man power, either on the fighting front or in the economic field at home. Every casualty, therefore, is the joint responsibility of the Medical Services to the Forces at War and the Medical Services of peace. Any lack of co-ordination between the two Services in time of war can only result in difficulties in adjusting the problems of peace. We urge, therefore, that perfect co-ordination between the two agencies should be a matter of fundamental policy. We have no sympathy with the silly idea that our first duty is to win the

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War and then let us consider the problems of peace. To our mind the two are inseparable, and co-ordination and co-operation should commence now.

(d) Co-ordination of Services on Discharge.

If the principle in the foregoing is accepted—and in our opinion to reject it would, in the light of our experience following the last War, be the height of folly—then it follows that there should be co-ordination of the Military Medical Services and the Pensions Services on discharge. While operations are in progress it is naturally the duty of the Military Medical Services to retain the services of every man who can be made available for military duty. But when a man can no longer be profitably used on military duty he then becomes the responsibility of the civilian Department whose duty it is to fit him for some place in civil life. Therefore, there should be co-ordination of Services on discharge. When a man enters the Service he is medically examined to ensure that he is physically fit, and that in taking him on the country is not thereby assuming a large potential liability. During his period of service if our recommendations are adopted, everything that happens to him will be carefully recorded. But on discharge it is essential that everything that medical science can suggest should be utilized to determine his medical category. He was x-rayed on going in, he should be x-rayed on going out. If there is any change it will be recorded and its implications will be obvious. But we go further. There should be no short Board on discharge. Every man should be examined to the fullest extent that medical science can suggest to determine as accurately as possible his physical condition. We therefore have a complete picture. His condition when he entered the Service—his condition when he was discharged. If therefore the man, ten, fifteen or twenty years later breaks down, with tuberculosis or a heart condition, it will be a fairly simple matter to determine whether such a condition has any relation to service.

(e) Widows

It would also be desirable if a declaration were made, at the earliest possible date, as to the Government's policy in regard to widows. We admit that in respect to this matter Canada is considerably in advance of the United Kingdom, and of the other Dominions. Nevertheless, the widows of the men who fought in the last War are not satisfied, and in this respect they seem to have a measure of public support. It seems to be their idea, and the idea of such legislators and members of the public who support them, that the widow of a man who served is entitled, as of right, to a pension upon his death. Today the law is that if the parties were married prior to January 1st, 1930, or, if married thereafter, prior to an award of pension, and the man dies of his pensionable disability, or if being a pensioner to the extent of 50% or over, he dies from any cause, his widow is en-

titled to pension. But in all other cases no pension is payable. We suggest that while enlistment is now in its early stages the Government should make a definite statement of policy so that men enlisting and women marrying them have no doubt as to their position.

(f) Venereal.

That unless the Government is prepared to accept venereal disease as a pensionable condition, it should be made compulsory that all recruits be given adequate instruction in the consequences of venereal disease and effective steps taken to ensure its prevention.

In making this suggestion we do not desire to suggest that men in His Majesty's Forces are more immoral than men in civilian life. They are not. But in time of war and when men are concentrated in restricted areas the sources of infection are perhaps likely to affect a greater number. Be that as it may the most heartrending cases with which we have to deal are these cases. The man may be hopelessly crippled, insane. His doctor says War Service—his wife says War Service—the public says War Service, and a cruel hearted Government denies him a pension. The Government cannot tell the truth—we cannot tell the truth. Therefore, let every effort be made to eliminate this evil.

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FUTURE PROBLEMS

Next to winning the War the most important problem which faces us today is the reconstruction period—the period of rehabilitation and re-establishment. You cannot remove six, eight, nine hundred thousand or a million of the fittest and best of your man power from the economic life of the country without some measure of dislocation, and certainly you cannot fit them back without careful planning. Suggestions that it is time enough to talk of rehabilitation of the fighting men when we have won the War are arrant nonsense. The two matters are inseparable. We must win the War undoubtedly, and we will, but we must also win the peace, which means readjusting our War machine to the development of our peace-time programme. This means planning to use our man power mobilized for War to the best advantage in the reconstruction period, which, if the experience of the last War means anything, is going to be very difficult to do. However, we have the advantage of the experience of the last War to guide us and wisdom would dictate that we should read these lessons which are written large, and having read them, that we should avoid the mistakes then made. As has been said, the experience of the last War is available, and in addition the Government has available to it the experience of organized veteran bodies whose members know from sad experience just how difficult are the problems of rehabilitation; and it is hoped that the Government of the day will, in framing its plans, not overlook that wealth of experience available. Insofar as the veteran bodies are concerned, we hope that they will so mobilize their resources and organize their personnel that they may be able to make the maximum contribution to orderly demobilization and re-adjustment in the difficult period between the return of the first casualties and the demobilization of the last man.

Rehabilitation.

We are glad to know that the Government has already given consideration to this important matter, and has set up Committees to study the various aspects of the problem. In the last War these problems were apparently overlooked until the end of the War was almost in sight, when schemes had to be hurriedly evolved, and personnel assembled. In addition, the Government of the day had no previous experience, either here or elsewhere, to guide it. In the result many well-intended schemes failed to develop efficiently. Much financial loss resulted and many men were never rehabilitated—are not rehabilitated today. In the present War the Government of the day has the accumulated experience of these years to guide it; there is also available the experience of Great Britain and our Sister Dominions, all of whom grappled with the problem in various ways. In the result it should be possible to evolve schemes which have a reasonable chance of success, provided always that the conditions are favourable. For favourable conditions three factors are essential; first, that economic conditions shall be capable of permitting the absorption of a large number of men in a short space of time; second, that the men are given a fair chance of orderly absorption, and third, that the attitude of the men shall be favourable.

Dealing with these problems in order, we would make the following observations:—

(1) Economic Conditions:

These, of course, it is impossible to foresee and perhaps impossible to control. It appears to be the fairly general opinion that, come what may, the reconstruction period following the War will be difficult as a result of the complete dislocation of normal activities. Inasmuch as Canada is so largely dependent upon foreign markets for the support of her primary industries, it may be that during this period of reconstruction and re-establishment conditions as a whole may be such as to make re-employment on a large scale very difficult, and may even result in a very considerable measure of unemployment even among those who are not called for service. We do not claim to be economic experts, nor do we claim to be capable of putting forward specific recommendations for its solution. We do, however, recognize that the country cannot afford to turn loose the young men, the fit men, the very flower of the younger generation, to drift aimlessly and without hope of finding a place of security in the economic life of the country. That question must therefore receive daily, hourly study, to the end that our economic resources may be so conserved and our facilities for employment so developed that men returning from Overseas, whose lives have been directed into unnatural channels, may be given an early opportunity of re-entering the economic life of the country and developing their natural talents along natural lines. It is our considered opinion that while going "all out" to win the War we must never overlook the necessity of securing the peace. It must be accepted as fundamental that men who have offered life itself in defence of country will not lightly accept a role of insignificance. Therefore, they must be found a place. If that place is to be available, there will have to be careful planning, and that should be done now. We therefore recommend:—

That immediate steps be taken to survey the field of employment, that it may be so developed, even artificially if need be, that a place may be found for every volunteer who enlists

(2) General Conditions:

The present War is being fought on a basis of voluntary enlistment. It is therefore for each man to determine where his duty lies, and if a perfectly fit young man elects to find that it is his duty to stay at home, no one can quarrel with his decision. It is his life and it is for him to dispose it. However, the country is at war and it is to be assumed that each individual will play his part in the sphere for which he deems he is best fitted. It follows, therefore, that one should not be preferred over another. Under the voluntary system we do not assume that the man who volunteers to go Overseas does so to secure a job—to earn a living. We assume that he does so because he feels it to be his duty. But in discharg-

ing that duty he makes certain definite sacrifices. If he is young, so young perhaps that he has never been regularly employed, he sacrifices the formative years of his life—the years when he most easily learns the fundamentals of earning a living, and wastes these years in an unnatural environment where he learns little which will be of real use to him afterwards. If he is older and has already started to make his way in life, he loses the opportunity of advancement, the opportunity of mastering the fundamentals of his trade, business or profession while he is still young. No matter if he returns unscathed he is definitely handicapped as compared with his friend who has stayed at home, except in this, that he has probably learned more of human nature, more of discipline, more of duty and more of the essential dignity that accrues to those who place sacrifice before self. These qualities if preserved and developed will make him a better citizen. But the very possession of these qualities make it difficult, if not impossible, to subordinate himself to the man of his own age who stayed at home and learned the technique of living while he was learning and applying the technique of winning a War.

Following the last War this was one of the most disturbing features of rehabilitation. During the years 1914-1918 there had been great industrial expansion and great demand for primary products, for which the producers received exceptional prices. There were, therefore, on every side signs of apparent prosperity, and men who had voluntarily sacrificed good positions and prospects to serve found themselves at a great disadvantage with men of their own class who had stayed at home. This created bitterness, which was not conducive to orderly rehabilitation.

(3) The Outlook of the Service Man.

As already mentioned, the problem of rehabilitation following the last War seems to have been subordinated to winning the War, and little consideration was given to it until late in the War period. In particular the men themselves were never given any occasion to think of the matter until later, when the Khaki University was developed. The general tendency was to concentrate on winning the War, without regard to the future. This tended to develop a military rather than a civilian outlook, which was not conducive to re-establishment. There is no reason why concentration on winning the War cannot be maintained, while at the same time a healthy interest in his future is inculcated into the man on service, and he should be encouraged to use his leisure to better fit himself for his return. It is for this reason that the Canadian Legion War Services are seeking to develop an educational programme, and if the initial experiment proves a success, it can no doubt be expanded almost indefinitely, but in this connection Government aid may be necessary.

* * * * *

We have now outlined some of the factors which we consider affect the development of any policy of rehabilitation. It is not our purpose at this time to discuss definite schemes. We will be glad to do so when the Government policies are more clearly defined, but we re-emphasize that such schemes should be developed at the earliest possible moment, and that even now temporary schemes should be made available for men discharged as medically unfit, many of whom at present present distressing problems. We do, however, desire to stress certain matters which in our opinion are essential if any scheme of rehabilitation and re-establishment is to operate satisfactorily. Having regard to what we have already said, we make the following specific recommendations:—

1. Equality of Sacrifice.

The Government has stated that the principle of equality of sacrifice is to be observed. With that we agree, but trust that appropriate action will be taken to make it a reality rather than a pious hope. As a general measure we expect effective steps to be taken to ensure that no corporation or individual shall benefit financially as a result of the War. If we are entitled to ask men to voluntarily offer their lives for their country, we have a right to expect those who operate in the economic and in the industrial fields, and those engaged in the production of our primary products—all of which are essential to winning the War—to give their services at a remuneration commensurate with the pay of the fighting Services, having regard only to maintaining the economic life of the country on a normal basis and to the responsibility devolving upon those employed. If this is done there should at the end of the War be none of that disparity in conditions as between the fighting men and the civilian population, which marked the post-war period in 1919.

2. Reinstatement in Pre-War Positions.

Most good employers will reinstate men who enlist from their service but there are always employers—as we know to

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our sorrow—who have no regard to their obligations. We feel that the responsibility should be uniform and the right to re-employment established by law. Early in September last we made a Submission to the Government along these lines, which we now repeat, namely:—

- (a) It should be provided by Statute that every man who was in employment when he enlisted should be entitled to re-instatement, if physically fit for such employment, in the same position and with the seniority which he would have had if he had not enlisted, provided, of course, that the business or enterprise in which he was employed is still in existence and engaged in work of the same nature.
- (b) If the nature of the work is such that absence from employment for a period of time would impair skill it should be the responsibility of the Government to compensate the employer during such period as the man is undergoing a period of training.
- (c) To prevent abuses some tribunal should be set up to assess compensation for dismissal without adequate cause within a certain period.
- (d) That immediate approach should be made to the governing bodies of Labour Unions to ensure such adaptation of Labour Union Regulations as to make such scheme effective. Following the last war the Canadian Legion had great difficulty in adjusting questions of seniority by reason of the fact that no such arrangements were made.
- (e) Attention is directed to New Zealand legislation along these lines. We believe there is similar legislation in Australia. It should be noted, however, that the Canadian Legion submitted this suggestion long before the existence of this legislation became known.

3. Employment in Civil Service.

The men serving Overseas are engaged in public service of the highest order. Therefore the field of public service should be made available to them. It follows therefore:

- (a) That appointments to the Public Service of Canada should, save such for which a veteran of the war 1914-1918 is qualified to fill, during the war be regarded as temporary and vacancies made available to men with Overseas service at the termination of the War. This recommendation is not intended to affect those classified as "temporaries" on September 1st, 1919, many of whom should be embodied in the permanent service in accordance with the report of the last Parliamentary Committee on this subject.

- (b) That an effort be made to secure similar concessions from Provincial Governments, Municipal bodies and Public Utilities.
- (c) That consideration be given to legislation requiring employers of labour to make available a percentage of positions filled by fit men during the war period.

It is recognized that these are drastic proposals and they are submitted more as a basis of discussion, and to indicate the application of the principle of equality of sacrifice. There can be no equality of sacrifice if men (other than the veterans of the last war who are willing to go but not permitted to do so) are permitted to elect to remain at home and pre-empt the best positions available for men of their age group and equivalent training. The man who elects for Active Service should not be condemned to take the inferior positions.

4. Training for Civil Occupations Before Discharge.

The final question is the extent of the Government's responsibility on discharge. Many of these men are young and have never worked. They are therefore incapable of earning a living, and by reason of the Service period have lost the opportunity of training. It is therefore recommended:—

- (a) That such men should not be discharged until they have been afforded an opportunity of becoming trained in some calling for which they are adapted.

Many of these men were employed on enlistment. They will have no employment to which to return. It is therefore recommended:—

- (b) That if such men are capable of being trained they be given a course of training fitting them for employment.
- (c) That employment conditions be surveyed and efforts made to secure the absorption of these men in an orderly manner.
- (d) That for this purpose the Veterans' Assistance Commission be developed to ensure the maximum amount of voluntary assistance.

5. Veterans of the Last War.

In considering these problems the Government must not overlook the veteran of the last War. He is still just as much a responsibility of the Government of Canada as are the men of the new Forces. He cannot be displaced when the new men return, nor must the veteran of the last War be overlooked in development of employment measures. This is fundamental in our opinion.

* * * * *

**Men Serving in the Royal Air Force or Otherwise
Employed in the British Forces.**

In this connection we desire to repeat the observations which we made to the Minister on the 20th of December, 1939.

As is known, in the last War all Air Force personnel was carried on the British Establishment and, in addition, the British Government were permitted to recruit in Canada specialists in various departments, such as Medical Officers, Veterinary Officers and Motor Transport men. The Canadian Government did make provision that pensions paid by the British Government should be augmented to the Canadian scale, but it was apparently overlooked that this did not entirely meet the situation. These men were Canadians and were serving in the British Forces because there they could most usefully serve their country. We are sure that it was never contemplated that thereby they should lose Canadian rights—but by this arrangement they did definitely lose certain rights to which as Canadians they were entitled, in that the basis of entitlement to pension in Great Britain is different from the basis of pension in Canada, while the system of awards is entirely different.

We have, over a period of years, found the greatest difficulty in adjusting these claims at long range, and dealing with unfamiliar tribunals, and under a different system. For instance, in Canada we can obtain access to the military and medical documents to secure evidence in support of a claim. The British Government will, under no circumstances, permit examination of documents. Therefore, in addition to the disadvantage of distance, there is also the disadvantage that we cannot obtain the material upon which we are accustomed to rely in preparing Canadian pensions cases.

INSTITUTE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Alberta Military Institute is open to all officers and ex-officers of His Majesty's Naval, Military and Air Forces. Annual fee, \$5.00 per annum. Those residing outside a radius of ten miles of Calgary may take out a Non-Resident Membership, without voting power, for \$1.00 per annum.

Full particulars will be furnished on application to the Honorary Secretary, Alberta Military Institute, c/o Headquarters, Military District No. 13, Public Building, Calgary, Alberta.

It is our desire to bring this matter to the attention of the Government at this time in order that, as far as possible, steps may be taken, by arrangement, with the British Government, or otherwise, to ensure that there shall be no recurrence of this difficulty. Not being familiar with the arrangements made between the Canadian Government and the Government of Great Britain, it is difficult for us at the moment to make specific recommendations, but we suggest the following principles:—

- (a) If a man of his own free will transfers from the Canadian to the British Services he should not thereafter be regarded as a responsibility of the Canadian Government, but it should be made definitely known to the members of the Canadian Forces that in so transferring they cease to be entitled to Canadian rights.
- (b) That excluding the class in the previous paragraph mentioned, every Canadian employed in the Forces of the Crown during the present War should remain a charge of the Canadian Government and be entitled to pension on the basis of the Canadian Pension Act and with all the privileges by that Act accorded.
- (c) That in whatever system may be adopted to meet these recommendations, arrangements should be made with the British Government whereby documents of Canadian personnel will be available to applicants for pension.
- (d) The foregoing recommendations apply also to rights to hospitalization and medical treatment.



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Among the Recent Books

(Reviewed by Major C. A. Lyndon)

'Prelude To Victory'—Brig.-Gen. E. L. Spears, C.B., C.B.E., M.C.

A large number of Journal readers will have read Brigadier Spears' earlier volume "Liaison, 1914." They will require no urging to read this new one, nor will they be one bit disappointed by it. Covering the activities of one of the less happy and more critical periods of the Great War, the year 1917, it is a record intense in its interest and valuable in its lessons.

Members of the fighting services will recall the spring of 1917 as the pre-American-entry period, and as the period in which the armies of France, and to some extent those of Britain, were showing the symptoms of war fatigue. It was the period of the emergence of the now famous Hindenburg Line to which a prudent German army unostensibly retired, leaving behind an area which they subjected to one of the greatest ordeals of systematic sabotage the world has ever known. It was into such a scene as this that the Allied Commanders felt the urge to inject some vitality through vigorous offensive action. "Prelude To Victory" tells the story of those efforts, and in so doing provides a record that, as the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill says in his introduction "should be read with attention by every officer of field rank and upwards in the French and British armies."

Brigadier Spears was in an admirable position, as Liaison Officer between British and French Headquarters, to see and evaluate the major moves of the period. His story covers the eminently successful Battle of Arras during which our Canadian Corps seized Vimy Ridge, the abortive and grandiosely planned Battle of St. Quentin so ardently sponsored by General Nivelle, and the bitter recriminations between British and French commanders over the question of a Supreme Generalissimo. Those who could avoid a recurrence of the unpleasant and near tragic in the relationships between the two nations once more allied in battle, would do well to heed the lessons of 1917 as they are reviewed for us by General Spears.

"Prelude To Victory" is by every measure one of the outstanding books of the year for military readers. (Toronto: Nelson's).

* * * * *

"Behind The Lines"—Colonel W. N. Nicholson, C.M.G., D.S.O.

No more suitable combination of period and story could be asked than the present era and Colonel Nicholson's volume of the

scenes 'behind the lines' during the last Great War. This is just the sort of book both regimental and staff officers are looking for in their current pursuit of the art of leadership—the nearest approach to date to a one-volume course in the mobilizing, training and administering of units and formations.

Colonel Nicholson writes from a wealthy experience as a "Q" officer in the field with two British Army Divisions, one of them the famed 51st Highland Scottish. To that experience has been coupled a sense of humor and an ability to write that provide a story as engrossing as it is instructive. Whether the record concerns billets in home depots at mobilization, or renovation of badly-shattered lines during the darkest days in France it is delightfully human and absorbing.

Readers in any walk of life who are interested in knowing more of the problems faced by those endeavoring to turn civilians into a trained and cohesive fighting force will find in "Behind The Lines" the sort of story they seek, whether the interests centre in the problems of the personal factor, or in the trials and joys of the Staff, or in the provision of accommodation and supply for a modern force. To readers interested in any of these our recommendation of the volume is without qualification of any kind. (Toronto; Nelsons).

* * * * *

"Failure of A Mission"—Sir Neville Henderson, P.C., G.C.M.G.

Sir Neville Henderson will need no introduction to Canadians. What is more, his name on the title page of a volume on immediate pre-war diplomatic activities, will be sufficient to ensure a universal reading of the volume in the Dominion. The one fact of his service as British Ambassador to Germany during the years which he saw the Austrian and Sudeten crises as well as the actual outbreak of the present conflict provided him with the most complete view accorded any one man of the devious moves by which the world was drawn into a second Great War within a generation, as well as of the personalities behind the moves.

Sir Neville's record deals not only with the political and economic factors that led to war, but paints, as well, a vivid personal picture of the statesmen and diplomats who rose and sank in turn on the eddying current of Nazi determination to carve a path to world domination by sheer power and ruthlessness. His word sketches, built for the most part out of personally observed acts and personal contact with the actors, are particularly illuminating in the case of Hitler, Ribbentrop and Goering, the major spokes in the drive-wheel of the Nazi merry-go-round. Their play-by-play character sketches furnish perhaps the best possible insight into

the character of the Nazi party; certainly nothing more is needed to explain the several drastic steps taken by the Reich from the day when the Rhineland was re-occupied.

It is doubtful if we will ever be given a more authoritative record of the actual moves now preceding the Austrian Anschluss, the Sudetan partition, the Czech and the Polish invasion than the one given here. Of particular interest are the sections dealing with the Munich and Godesberg meetings between the Fuehrer and Prime Minister Chamberlain, where the one sought to avert war while the other gambled the chances of Peace against his own determination to yield in a new deal. Britons will feel a certain sense of pride and satisfaction in the attitude of their Prime Minister and Government in these finally abortive attempts at reconciliation.

The full value of Sir Neville Henderson's story will be most appreciated only when it is recalled that he was among those many prominent Britons who, prior to the kaleidoscopic activities of Herr Hitler, were known to be strongly sympathetic to the Reich and to the efforts of the German people to rebuild the nation shattered in the 1914-1918 struggle. It is apparent from the story in "Failure Of A Mission" that close contact with, and efforts to co-operate with, the present leaders of the Reich has more than dulled those feelings of sympathy as far as Sir Neville is concerned. (Toronto: Mussons).

* * * * *

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• SERVING ALBERTA •

**"A Short History of the British Army"—Major Eric W. Sheppard.
(Tank Corps).**

This is the finest condensed history of the British Army that has been given the world, accomplishing in abbreviated form what the monumental works of Sir John Fortescue have done in great detail. Its popularity may be gauged by the fact that the present volume is the third revised edition, completed after the Nazi invasion of Poland last autumn.

Major Sheppard writes history in a style pleasingly unusual and interesting enough that readers will continue to read to the back cover as much for the story unfolded as for the picture provided of the British forces. He traces in his opening chapters the origin of the Army from the medieval period, through the period of incursions and excursions that marked the dynastic and religious struggles, up to the time of Marlborough. Then, through the period of Anglo-French colonial expansion and consequent struggle there grew up an Army that finally began to attract attention in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe, and that provides the historian with some of his most picturesque material.

Recorded are the effects of the several leaders and the many campaigns upon the Army that preceded our present one. The stories of the American Revolution, the Napoleonic Campaigns, the Crimean venture, the Indian Mutiny, the Boer Wars and the Great War are all interestingly related as they play a part in the development of our Fighting Forces. Plentifully supplied with maps on each campaign, the volume should be a popular one with the Services as well as with civilian readers interested in historical reading.
(Toronto. MacMillan's)

* * * * *

"What Germany Forgot"—James T. Shotwell.

The German people have spent the past twenty years, and have entered a second Great War, obsessed with the idea that all the ills which beset the nation between November, 1918, and September, 1939, were the result of a vindictive and vicious Treaty of Versailles. So vigorous has been the propaganda by which this idea has been broadcast to the world, and so continuous its dissemination, that many anti-Nazi elements in neutral corners, and even in the present Allied corners began to feel that the Treaty must have been wholly bad; a really infamous piece of engineering forced upon a defeated people against all the facts that indicated peace terms of an opposite nature. Inquiring investigators have concluded the Treaty deserves no such general condemnation, that a sincere effort had been made by those who drafted it to set out boundary lines and enact safeguards shown necessary by the facts presented to them. It will be of considerable interest to Journal readers that Dr. James Shotwell has now written an informative and interesting volume dedicated to examining the

Treaty and judging whether the German people have properly placed the blame for difficulties.

Dr. Shotwell is Professor of History of International Relations at Columbia University and has devoted a large portion of his time during the past few years to a study of the economic and political effects of the World War of 1914-1918. "What Germany Forgot" is in a sense, a condensed view of these results as they affected the Reich. It provides an illuminating picture of the cost of that war to each of the major participants and of the means by which each met those costs. In this latter matter alone, with its effect on German natural resources is to be found, according to Dr. Shotwell, one of the leading causes of German distress. Included too, is a timely dissertation on the age-old German militaristic tradition with an examination of the part which this single trait of character may have had on the advent of today's conflict.

Dr. Shotwell does not hold the Versailles Treaty to be perfect, nor does he contend that perfection has blessed the efforts of those post-war statesmen who found themselves confronted with the task of applying its provisions. He does, however, provide a reasonable, and what appears to be an unbiased examination of the charge that the Peace was a 'diktat'—and examination that should be read by all thinking Allied people (and Germans).

* * * * *

"Canada, Europe and Hitler"—Watson Kirkconnell.

Dr. Watson Kirkconnell of the University of Manitoba, a native-born Canadian, has become widely known throughout Western Canada during the past two years through his writings on Central European affairs, and their relation to Canadian economy. That acquaintanceship will be widened considerably, and favorably, by this volume on Canada and her adopted peoples and their reaction to developments in European politics in the past decade.

Dr. Kirkconnell has made a rather exhaustive study both in Europe and here at home of our new Canadians, of their home backgrounds and traditions, and of the manner in which those characteristics were being molded into some sort of Canadianism. As a result of first hand observation of conditions in Central Europe, the Balkans and the Baltic during recent years he has developed a commendably clear picture of these relationships and of what they mean to the Dominion.

One of the most interesting features of the story is the author's precise examination of the manner and degree of assimilation of each of the nationalities which have contributed new citizens during the period since the last war. The facts presented are authoritative

enough that they should attract the attention, not only of everyday Canadians, but also of our public men and legislators. It is not being too commendatory to say the volume deserves to become a permanent source-book on its subject. (Toronto: Oxford).

* * * * *

"The High Cost of Hitler"—John Gunther.

The thousands of Canadians who have read Mr. Gunther's recent "Inside Europe" and "Inside Asia" will not require much encouragement to start them reading this new volume. Small in size, it covers a period and a series of happenings that have turned out to be perhaps the most momentuous in world history.

Mr. Gunther was in Europe during the past summer while the sinews of war were being brewed pot by pot, and his present volume is an assemblage of a series of broadcasts he made to America from the various European capitals during the period from July to the day on which he said, speaking from London, "since 11 a.m. British time, today, Great Britain has been in a state of war with Germany." Just as those words climaxed a period of frantic efforts to ward off a cataclysm, so do they climax this Gunther record.

"The High Cost of Hitler" is like a panorama of the European scene in pre-war days as well as being an instructive study of the reactions of European nationalities to the moves of their several governments. Broadcasts from Paris, Geneva, London, as well as attempted ones from other Eastern European capitals, and visits to Soviet Russia and each of Germany's neighbors provide a splendid insight into the happenings of those worried days prior to the first move of German forces over the Polish border on September 1st. The book is a worthy one to accompany its two illustrious predecessors from the Gunther pen. (Toronto: Musson).

* * * * *

"How War Came"—Raymond Gram Swing.

Canadian radio listeners have come to know pretty well during the past twelve months the voice and pertinent comment on world affairs of Raymond Gram Swing, thanks to a hook-up between our CBC and an American broadcast system. That acquaintanceship, thanks to a laudatory fairness and a lack of crusading spirit fearful that neighbors were luring his countrymen to some far away abattoir, has been a popular one. Mr. Swing's "How War Came" promises to be as well received as his broadcasts.

Raymond Gram Swing was foreign correspondent for the American Press in Berlin when war broke out between Germany and Poland. For some time previous to the actual outbreak of hostilities he had broadcast to America each week his comment on the events which were transpiring in all of Europe. The record in his present

volume starts with the dismemberment and seizure of Czechoslovakia by the German Army and runs the gamut of news down to the actual start of the "blitzkrieg" into Poland. Here are inside views of many scenes that alternately raised and lowered the many national fevers of Europe during the "war of nerves" between the Golgotha of the Czechs and that of the Poles. There is the story of Munich, what happened there and what the British and French leaders hoped to gain from its Pact; the startling picture of a Britain and France determined to stand up to the Fuehrer but militarily and psychologically unprepared for the job; the sudden change in the democracies from peace to war tempo and the stiffening of the anti-Hitler sentiment at the absorption of the Czechs by a leader who had just sworn to defend their borders and independence; and, just as Italy's Mussolini and the Soviet's Stalin flit in and out of the war picture and the headlines today, so they here come frequently into the orbit of the commentator.

What Mr. Swing has actually done has been to provide a permanent record of what the average, unbiased individual, attempting to interpret these events thought as they were enacted. It is more than likely that as the struggle broadens, the sacrifices become heavier and morale is subject to the unavoidable strains and stresses of prolonged war this sort of record may be the finest reminder possible as to who brought on the struggle and as to just what sort of crusade is actually involved. (Toronto: McLeod).

* * * * *

"Hitler's Last Year of Power"—Leonardo Blake.

Few of us know much of astrology or of the processes by which astrologers reach the conclusions on which they now and then base rather startling predictions. We do suddenly realize, every so often, though, that another student of the science has registered a hit with a prediction come true. Leonardo Blake, author of this little volume predicting the early breakdown of the Hitler regime seems to have had more than the average number of such successes in his predictions. It is not out of the way to expect, as a result, that he will be given more than an average reception for his present book, and its suggestion as to what is about to happen.

Mr. Blake foretold the change that was to come in the attitude to peace and war within the Chamberlain government, he foresaw that Poland was to be invaded even to the date on which the crisis would reach its culmination. Now he tells of the signs which show the breakdown of the Rome-Berlin axis and the complete overthrow of Hitler in 1940.

The volume is well worth having to hand to read through, then to glance at occasionally, and to ponder over. It may not con-

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vert us to astrology but it will again raise our interests in the means by which its followers astrologize—and it will certainly scatter many rays of hope around the world. (Toronto: Saunders).

* * * * *

"How Strong Is Britain"—Count Puckler.

This volume, written by a London correspondent of the German press and a close associate of Herr von Ribbentropp, German Foreign Minister, was written for consumption by Germans and is therefore, of more value to Canadians than if it had been prepared particularly for our assimilation. It is especially interesting because the author was attempting to give his country a balanced picture of the British Commonwealth of Nations, its strength as well as its weaknesses. It is a most unusual type of essay on the Empire to come from the Reich in the face of the continual tirades of Herr Hitler and his Foreign Minister against us and to the effect that the Commonwealth was crumbling and has become effete. It is a splendid aid to those who would like to fairly assess the direction in which the Empire is heading.

Count Puckler writes of all aspects of the Commonwealth. He spends only a small portion of his volume on the military and naval phases, coming quickly to the conclusion that the British army never exists until a war threatens but is then capable of enormous expansion, and that the navy still rules the seas and, in fact, because of the relatively smaller German sea forces, might be a much more vital factor in war today than it was even in 1918. He examines the economic fabric, notes the inherent strength in its vast store-houses of natural needs, but also finds one or two weaknesses that might become serious under war strain. He finds there are population problems which must be squarely met if a cohesive Commonwealth is to survive; he may change a lot of our ideas about the value to the Empire of some of its parts now deemed essential; and he delves deeply into the world financial structure, in the changes that have occurred there during the past two decades and how these changes may well be a major threat to the prestige of London as the centre of world trade.

In the conditions which prevail today, it is more than ever essential that Britons, including ourselves, base sentimentalism on facts, and it does seem that this view of our position by a man who is today an enemy is an invaluable help in doing just that. (Toronto: Musson).

The Annual General Meeting

THE Annual Meeting of the Institute was held in the Garrison Officer's Mess, C.A.S.F., Calgary, on Friday, January 26th, 1940. The Meeting opened at 8.30 p.m. The president, Capt. H. G. Nolan, M.C., occupied the chair. The following members were present:—

Major J. U. Acton; Capt. A. C. L. Adams; Capt. E. M. Aitken; Capt. W. H. Baker; Lieut. R. C. Borland; Lieut. T. E. Burns; Capt. J. E. Brown; Lt.-Comr. C. H. Bromley; Lieut. H. J. Cardell; Major C. A. Choate; Lieut. T. W. Collinge; Brig. C. E. Connolly; Major A. J. Davis; Major H. R. Dawson; Major E. W. Edwards; Major P. V. Harcourt; Lt.-Col. F. M. W. Harvey; Col. H. C. A. Hervey; Major Jas Hogarth; Lt.-Col. A. C. C. Johnston; Lt.-Col. W. K. Jull; Major G. W. Kerby, E.D.; Col. E. R. Knight, V.D.; Major J. W. Littleton, M.C.; Lieut. A. K. Mackie; Lieut. R. N. Matthews; Lieut. W. St J. Miller; Lieut. S. L. Miller; Major W. H. Morgan; Major J. A. Macdonald; Lieut. A. C. MacWilliams; Major D. J. McDougall; Major J. A. McLean; Capt. H. G. Nolan; Capt. G. Z. Pinder; Capt. G. G. Pook; Lt.-Col. D. Ritchie; Lieut. M. H. Tobinson; Major W. G. Stunden; Capt. J. A. Suttle; Major W. P. Taylor; Lt.-Col. D. H. Tomlinson; Lieut. A. H. Turney; Lieut. J. B. Whiteoak; Capt. A. G. Wilson.

Membership

The following, having been recommended by the Directors, were elected to membership on motion of Major A. J. Davis, seconded by Capt. W. H. Baker:—

Hon. Major W. H. Morgan—Resident.
Lieut. F. B. Clark—Non-resident.
Lieut. B. E. Bull—Resident.
Lieut. A. Pirie—Non-resident.
Capt. J. G. Anderson—Resident.

Minutes of Last Annual Meeting

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting held in the Garrison Officer's Mess on Tuesday, January 24th, 1939, having been printed in the Annual Journal of 1938, it was moved by Major J. W. Littleton, seconded by Lt.-Col. D. H. Tomlinson, that the minutes be taken as read. Carried.

Report of the President

The president presented the following report for the year 1939 as follows:—

Brigadier Connolly and Gentlemen:

It is my privilege to present to you, on behalf of your Directors, a report of the activities of the Institute for 1939.

Membership

We continue to maintain our membership. There has been a slight decrease of 16 residents and an increase of 5 non-resident members.

Receipts from the membership in 1939 were \$1,715.50, an increase of \$67.50 over the preceding year.

Hon. Colonel The Right Honourable R. B. Bennett, E.D., P.C., K.C., LL.D. was elected a Life Member during the year.

The membership at present is as follows:

Life Members	5
Honourary Members	3
Resident Members	326
Non-resident Members	148
Red Deer Branch	23

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FRANK H. PEARCE, MANAGER

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Your Directors are delighted to welcome the return of Brigadier Connolly, D.S.O., who comes back to us in command of this Military District.

Brigadier G. R. Pearkes, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., has been appointed to command the 2nd Infantry Brigade and a presentation was made to him in the Mess on Sunday, December 3rd, on which occasion there was a large attendance of members. The Institute will always remember the enthusiastic support given to its activities by Brigadier Pearkes.

It is not possible in this Report to make mention of the many other departures and arrivals occasioned by the outbreak of war.

Deaths

It is with deep regret that we record the deaths of the following members of the Institute during 1939:

Lt.-Col. J. G. Reid, D.S.O.
Lieutenant R. D. Macfarquhar.
Major G. D. C. McEwen.
Superintendent J. O. Scott.
Major-General D. W. B. Spry, O.B.E., V.D.

Meetings

There were twelve meetings held during the year in addition to the New Year's Reception.

February 20th—Fuad K. Mufarrij, of Damascus—"The Zionist Movement."

March 6th—Major H. A. Young of Calgary—"Radio Development in the Far North by the Department of National Defence."

March 13th—Max Freedman of Edmonton—"Canada's Foreign Policy."

March 20th—W. J. Oliver of Calgary—"A Trip to Indo-China."

April 24th—Peter J. Lazarowich of Edmonton—"Ukraine, the Sore Spot of Europe."

May 11th—Lt.-Col. A. Hamilton Gault, D.S.O., of England—"The European Situation as Seen by Some of Us Today."

August 18th—Lt.-Col. L. C. Goodeve, D.S.O., of Kingston, Ontario "171,670,867 Rounds of Ammunition."

August 31st—Lieutenant Olav Seidenfaden of Copenhagen, Denmark—"Impressions from the World Over."

November 16th—W. Kent Power, K.C., of Calgary—"Search and Seizure at Sea During War."

November 24th—Sydney R. Vallance of Calgary—"Alpine Interlude."

December 13th—Rt.-Hon. R. B. Bennett, P.C., K.C.—"England in Time of War."

Financial Statement

The annual statement will be presented by the Treasurer, but it is pleasing to observe that the Institute continues to enjoy a sound financial position.

Vimy Dinner

The Vimy Dinner was held in the Palliser Hotel on the evening of April 11th. The Most Rev. F. P. Carroll, Roman Catholic Bishop of Calgary made the principal address of the evening, which was most interesting and instructive. The meeting was well attended by the members and the large audience included many citizens of Calgary.

The Press

Your Directors wish to place on record their appreciation of the assistance given to us by the local newspapers during the year. The success of our meetings is in a large measure due to the publicity so generously given by the Calgary newspapers, The Herald and the Albertan.

Armistice Ball

Owing to the outbreak of war, it was decided by your Directors not to hold the Annual Armistice Ball on November 11th. Whether or not this event is to be resumed, will be a matter for the consideration of the members at this meeting.

The Visit of Their Majesties—The King and Queen

During the year one of the memorable events was the visit of the King and Queen to Canada. The Institute Cadet Corps assisted in lining the route followed by their Majesties in Calgary and arrangements were made to make seats available to our members in front of the Armouries. The Institute also contributed to the expenses of the dance held in the Armouries on the evening of the Royal Visit.

Cadet Corps

There will be a separate Report on the activities of the Alberta Military Institute Cadet Corps presented this evening. The annual camp was held at Sylvan Lake for a period of fifteen days in August. 88 cadets attended the camp, including fifteen from Innisfail. The Corps continues to carry on its splendid work under the inspiring leadership of Major D. J. McDougall and acquitted themselves most creditably on their annual inspection on June 9th, being awarded the Adams Shield for general efficiency. Four cups were presented by the Institute to the Cadet Rifle Team which won second place in the Empire Rifle Shoot in 1938.

Owing to the fact that the armouries were required for training by the Canadian Active Service Force Units, new quarters were necessary and were generously donated by the Canadian Legion in the Memorial Hall, where the work of the Corps is now being en-

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thusiastically carried on. If finances and accomodation permitted, the strength of the Corps could be doubled, which clearly points to the good work being done by Major McDougall and his assistants.

C.O.T.C. Scholarship

The Institute donated a scholarship of fifty dollars to the winner of the Class "B" Certificate of the University of Alberta C.O.T.C. which was awarded to Sergeant Balfour. We are informed by the University authorities that the scholarship has materially increased the number of members in the O.T.C. and has improved the standard of the work of the Corps.

Library

The Library has been used this year to a greater extent than before. Many new books have been added and our thanks are due to Lieutenant L. E. Rick for his services rendered during the year as Honorary Librarian. He has diligently read reviews of new and suitable books and has from time to time at our meetings given us interesting resumes of the books being added. We congratulate him upon his commission in the Canadian Active Service Force.

Annual Journal

The Annual Journal containing a transcript of the lectures delivered during 1939 and proceedings of the last Annual Meeting was published under the editorship of Major A. C. Ballantine. The thanks of the Institute are due to Major Ballantine and to Lieutenant M. H. Robinson and Lieutenant S. L. Miller for the manner in which they discharged their duties as Advertising and Business Manager respectively. May I take this opportunity of reminding the members that it is the support of our advertisers that makes the Journal possible. They, I think, are entitled in turn to our support.

The Annual Journal of the past year will be issued in due course and sent to all the members. During the past year the Institute published 1000 copies of the Booklet issued by Military District 13 on the activities of the units of the Non-permanent Militia. The Officers commanding the Units of the N.P.A.M. have on several occasions expressed their appreciation of the usefulness of this publication and we feel that the expenditure was fully justified.

Garrison Officers' Mess

No meetings of the Institute were held in the months of September and October, the mess not being available for this purpose owing to the outbreak of the war. Through the co-operation of the Garrison Officers' Mess and the Canadian Active Service Force Mess, our members continued to enjoy the privileges of the Mess during these months and arrangements were made in November, with the permission of the Military authorities, to continue the use of the Mess for Institute meetings, admittance to members being obtained through the issuance of passes. The Institute wishes to place on

record its thanks for the co-operation and assistance, without which we would have been forced to hold our meetings elsewhere to the obvious detriment to the activities of the Institute.

Recommendations

A number of recommendations of your Directors will be submitted for your consideration during this meeting. These have been carefully considered by your Directors and meet with their approval.

It will be recommended that approval be given to the arrangement entered into with the Canadian Active Service Force Officers' Mess for the continued use of this mess for our meetings.

It will be recommended that the new Directors be authorized to appoint a Committee to examine the present system of Nominations and to submit a report to the Directors for their consideration.

It will be recommended that all dues of members, in the Canadian Active Service Force, who leave this Military District be waived during the period of such absence and that in view of this loss in revenue, members be urged to obtain new members from among eligible persons residing in the city.

During the last few months a number of our members have been commissioned in the C.A.S.F. and have left Calgary. Many more will go during this year and we would like them all to know that they take with them the best wishes of every member of this Institute. May I express the hope that as these officers return our members will undertake the responsibility of assisting them in every way possible to re-establish themselves in civilian life. It is not too early to think about these things and the experience of the last war made it abundantly clear that in many instances those who had gallantly done their duty were confronted by difficulties upon their return. This Institute, comprised as it is, of men from every walk of life could be made an invaluable instrument to assist in this work of re-establishment.



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THE ALBERTA MILITARY INSTITUTE ANNUAL JOURNAL

In conclusion may I say that my unavoidable absence from Calgary from time to time during the year has thrown an added burden upon your Directors and particularly upon the Vice-President, Lt.-Col. A. C. Cooper-Johnston, M.C., V.D. My thanks are due to him and to all the Directors for the manner in which they have, during the year, discharged the duties of their respective offices.

I am glad to be able to inform you that although commissioned in the C.A.S.F., Major A. J. Davis will be able to continue as Secretary, an office which he has so efficiently filled for a number of years.

A special word of thanks is due to Lieutenant S. L. Miller. From 1923 to 1927 Lieutenant Miller was our Auditor and he has been our Treasurer from 1927 until tonight. He has now found it necessary to devote all of his time to his greatly increased official duties. It need only be said that his invaluable services throughout all these years will never be forgotten by this Institute.

I thank you all for having honoured me with the office of President for the past year and wish my successor and the incoming Directors every possible success in carrying on the work of the Institute in these difficult days.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

H. G. NOLAN, President.

Moved by Col. N. D. Dingle, seconded by Captain J. A. Suttle, that the report of the President be received and approved.

Carried

Auditor's Report

The report of the Auditor, Lieut. F. J. Butler, certifying that all books, accounts, securities, etc., of the Institute had been examined and found to be correct, was read by the Secretary.

Moved by Lieut. T. W. Collinge, seconded by Captain W. H. Baker and approved—that report be adopted.

Annual Financial Statement

The financial statement was reviewed by the Treasurer. Lieut. S. L. Miller, who outlined the various sources of revenue and submitted explanations of the disbursements and other financial matters of the Institute. In accordance with Constitution and By-Laws a copy of the financial statement had been mailed to all members.

Lieut. Miller also reported that, owing to mobilization and the extra work involved, he had asked the nomination committee not to submit his name for re-election as Treasurer, thanked all the members for their co-operation during the many years he had held that office and stating that he would continue his interest in the Institute.

THE ALBERTA MILITARY INSTITUTE ANNUAL JOURNAL

Moved by Col. E. R. Knight, seconded by Lieut. M. H. Robinson, that the Report be adopted and regret that Lieut. Miller was unable to continue as Treasurer, expressing appreciation to him for his long and splendid service as Treasurer and previously as Auditor Carried.

Report of Librarian

The report of the Librarian, Lieut. L. E. Lick, was read by the Secretary, in which he advised new books had been purchased, also donations of books from Hon. Col. The Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, Brigadier Pearkes, V.C., D.S.O., M.C.; Lieut. W. C. Ledingham; Lt.-Col. W. K. Jull, M.C., V.D.; Lt.-Col. E. R. Selby, D.S.O.; Lieut. L. E. Lick and Mrs. M. V. J. Crowe to whom are extended grateful thanks.. He again suggested that members might have suitable books and would donate them to the Library. Lieut. Lick having joined the C.A.S.F. advised that he would be unable to continue as Librarian

The Directors recommended that a sum, not exceeding \$25.00, be authorized for 1940.

Moved by Lt.-Col. D. Ritchie, seconded by Lt.-Col. D. H. Tomlinson, that the report be adopted, that the recommendation of the Directors be approved and that very grateful thanks be extended to Lieut. Lick for his work as Librarian. Carried.

Report of the Alberta Military Institute Cadet Corps

Major J. U. Acton presented the report of the activities of the Alberta Military Institute Cadets, expressing appreciation of the splendid work being done by Major D. F. McDougall and Lieut. H. C. Ward, also advising that Lt. Ward had returned to his Unit on mobilization, his place being taken by Capt. W. Millar.

The report showed that the Corps had won the Adams' Shield for general efficiency in all lines of Cadet work; 73 Cadets attended a 15-day Camp at Sylvan Lake at which 15 Cadets from Innisfail also attended. Entry was made in the Empire-wide Imperial Challenge Trophy competition for shooting and it was expected that at least two cadets might receive "First Class Shot" awards. Due to mobilization all space being utilized at the Armoury by the C.A.S.F. Units, it was found necessary to find other quarters. Due to mobilization it was necessary to vacate quarters occupied at the Calgary Armouries. Through the courtesy of the Canadian Legion their hall was placed at the disposal of the Corps free of charge. It was reported that a band of 22 Cadets has been formed.

The Committee recommended that the corps continue to function, take part in events for which they are eligible, and in addition if circumstances permit, the usual Cadet Camp be held in 1940, also that a grant of \$250.00 be authorized for 1940.

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**"FOUREX"
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for Energy

A Quality Product of
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LIMITED

"Masters of the Oven"

Moved by Major J. U. Acton, seconded by Hon. Major G. W. Kerby, that the report be adopted, the Directors be authorized to spend up to \$250.00 provided that the income of the Institute so justifies, and that the thanks of the Institute be extended to the Committee, Officers and Instructors for their splendid work. Carried.

The President presented Major McDougall with a case of pipes as a token of appreciation from the Institute for his excellent services, and advised that a cigarette case was being sent to Lieut. Ward in appreciation of his services, he having joined the C.A.S.F.

Clerical Assistance

The Directors recommended that a sum not exceeding \$120.00 be authorized for clerical assistance for the Treasurer and that a sum not exceeding 180.00 be authorized for clerical assistance for the Secretary during 1940.

Moved by Lieut. M. H. Robinson, seconded by Capt. G. Z. Pinder, that the above amounts be authorized. Approved.

Annual Journal 1940

The Directors recommend that the Annual Journal containing the activities and lectures for 1940 be published.

Moved by Capt. G. Z. Pinder, seconded by Col. H. C. A. Hervey, that the recommendations be approved. Carried.

The motion included a vote of thanks to Major A. C. Ballantine for the splendid manner in which the Journal for 1938 was edited. to Lieut. M. H. Robinson for his work in soliciting advertisements and to Lieut. S. L. Miller for supervising its publication.

Alberta Provincial Rifle Association

In view of the uncertainty of the activities of the Alberta Provincial Rifle Association during the present year it was agreed that the question of a grant for 1940 be held over to a later date.

C.O.T.C. Scholarship

Owing to present conditions the Directors did not recommend that grant for Scholarship this year.

Moved by Col. N. D. Dingle, seconded by Major J. W. Littleton, that the action of the Directors be approved. Carried.

Vimy Dinner

The Directors recommend that the Annual Vimy Dinner be held on Tuesday, April 9th, 1940.

This was approved on motion of Lt.-Col. D. Ritchie, seconded by Capt. J. A. Suttle.

Garrison Officers' Mess, C.A.S.F.

The Directors recommend that acceptance of the Garrison Officers' Mess, C.A.S.F. offer that the per capita rate for members for 1940 be a reduction of 50% from 1939 and that the charge for refreshments be \$20.00 per meeting as heretofore.

Moved by Lieut. T. E. Burns, seconded by Lieut. A. K. Mac-
kie, that the recommendation be accepted. Carried.

It was stated that members of the Institute were at all times welcome to the mess.

Military Dance

The Directors recommend that a discussion take place as to the advisability of holding a Military Dance during the year.

Moved by Col. E. R. Knight, seconded by Lieut. A. C. Mac-
Williams, that the matter be left with the incoming directors for consideration and submission of a recommendation at a subsequent meeting.

Affiliated Branches

The President advised that a report had been received from the Red Deer Branch including a list of their members.

HERE ARE THE RESULTS!

1940 S.M.L.E. RIFLE LEAGUE COMPETITION

DOMINION TEAM CHAMPIONSHIP

Team Members and their scores. Out of a possible 300:

W. H. Johnston	292	F. Ho Lem	289	A. Crichton	286
H. E. King	291	S. Johnson	293	M. Beatty	291
W. Macnab	289	Note—The five high scores constitute the total team score.			
Calgary Regiment (Tank) Calgary, Alta.				1456 x 1500	

INDIVIDUAL CANADIAN CHAMPIONSHIP

Sgt. J. A. MacMillan, 1st Cavalry Division, R.C.A.S.C., Winnipeg Man.

His three scores were 99-97-99 for a total of 295 x 300

A review of small bore competitions during the past year shows that a great number of top-scorers used "Dominion" .22's—the Ammunition of Champions. It is therefore natural that from every part of the country enthusiastic reports pour in praising the

excellent performance and consistent dependability of these famous target cartridges. This fine reputation is your assurance that in "Dominion" .22's you have ammunition that is second to none for accuracy and performance.

ALL "DOMINION" .22's HAVE "SUPER-CLEAN," NON-MERCURIC PRIMING

DOMINION .22's

"Always



Dependable"

CANADIAN INDUSTRIES LIMITED, "DOMINION" AMMUNITION DIVISION

Head Office: Montreal.

Moved by Lieut. T. W. Collinge, seconded by Lieut. W. St. J. Miller, that the report be received and that dues from affiliated branches be waived during 1940 as recommended by the Directors. Approved.

Recommendations—Dues

Moved by Major J. W. Littleton, seconded by Lieut.-Col. D. H. Tomlinson that the dues of those members of the C.A.S.F. who leave Canada be waived during their absence. Carried.

Nominations

Moved by Col. E. R. Knight, seconded by Capt. A. C. L. Adams that the directors be authorized to appoint a committee to examine the present system of Nomination of Officers and Directors and to submit a report to the Directors for their guidance when preparing a recommendation to be placed before the Institute members for their approval or otherwise.

Welcome to Brigadier C. E. Connolly, D.S.O.

The President extended a cordial welcome to Brigadier C. E. Connolly, D.S.O., on his return as District Officer Commanding.

Brigadier Connolly expressed appreciation for the welcome accorded to him, congratulating the Institute on the continued success, and expressed the hope that the organization's activities would, during the present crisis, continue with the same high efficiency as in the past. Also that he would at all times be only too pleased to do everything he can to further the Institute's interests. He also congratulated the President for his excellent address, especially for his timely remarks regarding the re-establishment of Officers in civil life on their demobilization.

Nomination of Officers for 1940

In accordance with Section VII of the Constitution and By-Laws the following nominations were received:—

Patrons

His Excellency The Governor-General of Canada.

His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta.

The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., P.G., M.A., LL.B., LL.D., M.P., Prime Minister of Canada.

Hon. Colonel The Right Hon. R. B. Bennett, E.D., P.C., K.C., LL.B., LL.D.

The Hon. Norman McL. Rogers, M.P., Minister of National Defence.

Major-General T. V. Anderson, D.S.O., Chief of the General Staff.

Major-General H. H. Matthews, C.M.G., D.S.O., Adjutant-General.

THE ALBERTA MILITARY INSTITUTE ANNUAL JOURNAL

Lieut.-General Sir A. C. Macdonnell, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Major-General A. H. Bell, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Major-General The Hon. W. A. Griesbach, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
V.D.

Colonel G. E. Sanders, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Honorary President

Brigadier C. E. Connolly, D.S.O., District Officer Commanding Military District No. 13.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

Colonel D. G. L. Cunningham, M.C., V.D., M.P.

Lieut.-Colonel D. Ritchie, M.C.

Lieut. H. C. Farthing.

Colonel E. R. Knight, V.D.

Lieut.-Colonel D. H. Tomlinson, M.B.E., V.D.

Major J. W. Littleton, M.C.

Lieut.-Colonel H. Pryde.

Colonel N. D. Dingle.

Colonel H. C. A. Hervey, V.D.

Captain H. G. Nolan, M.C.

President

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Cooper-Johnston, M.C., V.D.

Vice-President

Lieut.-Col. E. R. Selby, D.S.O.

Honorary Secretary

Major A. J. Davis.

Treasurer

Lieutenant T. E. Burns.

Directors

Major J. U. Acton

Lieut. R. C. Borland

Lieut. T. W. Collinge

Captain G. Z. Pinder, M.C.

Major H. E. Wright

Lieut. W. St. J. Miller

Captain W. H. Baker

The President declared these officers duly elected; there being no other nominations.

Chaplain

The Directors recommended the appointment of Hon. Major Rev. W. H. Morgan as Chaplain for 1940. Carried.

Honorary Librarian

The Directors recommend the appointment of Major W. P. Taylor as Librarian for the year 1940. Carried.

The President advised that arrangements had been completed for Mr. C. W. Peterson to address the members on February 2nd, his subject being "Baltic War Front," and Capt. M. E. Dover of Ceylon would also address the members in the near future.

Incoming President

Captain H. G. Nolan, M.C., invited Lieut.-Col. A. C. Cooper-Johnston M.C., V.D., newly elected President, to take the Chair, wishing him every success.

Expressions of appreciation were extended to Captain H. G. Nolan, M.C., for his excellent leadership during the year and the Directors for their untiring work.

Lieut.-Col. A. C. Cooper Johnson, upon taking the chair, thanked the members for the honour conferred upon him and bespoke for the Directors the same amicable year as just passed, asking the members for their support to continue the success of the Institute.

Photographs Officers—23rd and 91st Batteries

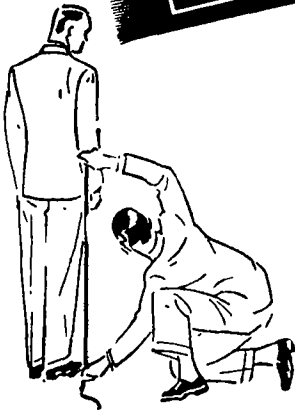
Major J. W. Littleton, on behalf of the 23rd and 91st Batteries, R.C.A., who have left the City, presented two framed pictures containing the photos of the officers of these Units for safe keeping and asked that they be hung in the Mess.

The President accepted the photographs with pleasure and stated that a request would be made to the Garrison Officers' Mess to have them placed in the Mess as requested.

Lieut.-Col. F. M. W. Harvey, V.C., M.C., Officer Commanding the Infantry (Rifle) Training Centre, stated that during the next few months a large number of officers would be in training at Currie Barracks and asked if they would be able to attend the lectures; and if so the School Mess would be willing to subscribe toward the expenses of the meetings.

Brigadier Connolly also spoke on this subject and stated that he felt that the School Staff Officers should become members of the Institute. After a short discussion it was moved by Lieut.-Col. D. Ritchie, seconded by Lieut. S. L. Miller that the President extend a welcome to visiting officers and that the question of a fee be left with the Directors to consider with the Officer Commanding the Infantry (Rifle) Training Centre.





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THE ALBERTA MILITARY INSTITUTE ANNUAL JOURNAL

Revenue Statement for the Year Ending 31st December, 1939

RECEIPTS

Membership Dues	\$1,715.50
Grant—Department National Defence	500.00
Interest	256.92
Donation—Major G. W. Kerby	10.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Garrison Officers' Mess—			
Proportion of Current Resident Membership Dues	\$	587.00	
Lectures, etc.			
Refreshments for Evening Meetings	\$235.97		
Expenses, speakers, etc.	43.35		
		\$279.32	
Vimy Dinner—Expenses	\$306.73		
Less Receipts	256.50		
		50.23	
New Year's Reception—1939		38.41	
			367.96
Alberta Military Institute Cadet Corps—			
1939 Camp Expenses	\$699.51		
Less Subscriptions by A.M.I.			
Cadets	\$ 73.50		
Less Share Paid by Innisfail			
Cadets	109.95		
Grant by Dept. National Defence			
for expenses incurred in 1938			
Camp	285.78	469.23	
			230.28
Other Expenses	106.34		
Less Miscellaneous Receipts	72.85		
		33.49	
Annual Journal—			263.77
Cost of Publishing, etc.	\$569.18		
Less Receipts for Advt's.	481.80		
Grants—			87.38
Alberta Provincial Rifle Association			50.00
Scholarship C.O.T.C.			50.00
General Expenses—			
Clerical Help		\$300.00	
Library—Books purchased during year. \$ 94.35			
Library—Depreciation on Furniture, etc. 54.23			
		148.58	
Circulars and Notices to Members		160.74	
Printing		120.90	
Presentations		55.00	
Postage		33.50	
Audit		30.00	
Wreaths		15.00	
Revenue Stamps, Exchange and Safety Deposit			
Box		10.28	
Gratuity		10.00	
Insurance		9.70	
Telgrams and Long Distance Calls		5.35	
Entry Fees—Garrison Athletic Association		5.00	
Miscellaneous		4.75	
			908.80
Total Expenses for 1939		\$2,314.91	
Amount Transferred to Interest Reserve		96.29	
Balance of Profit for Year 1939 transferred to Surplus			
Account		71.22	
		\$2,482.42	\$2,482.42

ALBERTA MILITARY INSTITUTE

BALANCE SHEET - 31ST DECEMBER, 1939

ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
Cash—		Prepaid Dues	\$ 31.00
Bank Balance—Current Account	\$261.33	Reserve for Interest Receivable as at	
Bank Balance—Savings Account	25.29	1st January, 1939	\$ 260.99
Cash on Hand	21.00	Transferred from Revenue Account for	
		Year 1939	96.29
Accrued Interest Receivable	\$ 307.62		357.28
Accounts Receivable	788.63		
	2.00		
Investments—		SURPLUS—	
Bonds and Savings Certificates, at cost	5,283.50	Balance as at 1st January, 1939	\$6,488.87
Par Value	\$5,800.00	Profit for Year 1939 as per	
Market Value as at 31st		Revenue Statement	71.22
December, 1939	4,432.50		6,560.09
Library—			
Books and Equipment	\$306.18		
Furniture	216.94		
	523.12		
Office Equipment, Pictures, etc.	43.50		
	\$6,948.37		\$6,948.37

Audited and found correct:

F. J. BUTLER, Lieut., Auditor.

Calgary, Alberta, 4th January, 1940.

Certified Correct

S. L. MILLER, Treasurer.

Alberta Military Institute Membership List

PAST PRESIDENTS

Colonel G. E. Sanders, C.M.G., D.S.O.	1920-21
(Late) Colonel George Macdonald, V.D.	1922
(Late) Lt.-Col. J. N. Gunn, D.S.O., V.D.	1923
Deputy Commissioner J. W. Spalding, R.C.M.P.	1924
(Late) Major-General D. W. B. Spry, O.B.E., V.D.	1925
Lt.-Col. G. H. Whyte, M.C.	1926
Colonel D. G. L. Cunningham, M.C., V.D.	1927
Major H. W. McGill, M.C., V.D.	1928
(Late) Major A. N. Martin	1929
Lt.-Col. D. Ritchie, M.C.	1930
Lieut. Hugh Farthing	1931
Brigadier L. F. Page, D.S.O.	1932
Colonel E. R. Knight, V.D.	1933
Brigadier D. J. MacDonald, D.S.O., M.C.	1934
Lt.-Col. D. H. Tomlinson, M.B.E., V.D.	
Major J. W. Littleton, M.C.	1935
Lt.-Col. H. Pryde	1936
Colonel N. D. Dingle	1937
Colonel H. C. A. Hervey, V.D.	1938
Captain H. G. Nolan, M.C.	1939

LIFE MEMBERS

Major-General A. H. Bell, C.M.G., D.S.O.
 Brigadier G. R. Pearkes, V.C., D.S.O., M.C.
 Colonel G. E. Sanders, C.M.G., D.S.O.
 Lieut.-General Sir A. C. Macdonell, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
 Hon. Colonel the Right Hon. R. B. Bennett, E.D., P.C.,
 K.C., LL.B., LL.D.

HONORARY MEMBERS

The Rt. Rev. L. Ralph Sherman, M.A., D.D.
 Hon. Mr. Justice A. H. Clarke.
 L. W. Brockington, Esq., K.C.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

A		
Acton, J. U., Major		Ballachey, A. A., Lieut
Adams, A. C. L., Capt		Ballantine, A. C., Major
Adams, F. D., Capt.		Banks, B. W., Capt.
Adams, J. M., Capt.		Barlow, B. E., Lieut.
Aitken, E. M., Capt.		Baxter, R. T., Lieut
Alexander, John P., Capt.		Beach, F. K., Major.
Alexander, L. G., Lieut.		Begg, John, Major
Anderson, J. G., Capt.		Bell, W. A., Lieut.
Andrews, C. S., Lieut.		Bentley, A., Capt.
Annand, S. A., Lieut.		Bermingham, F. G., Lieut.
Ayres, F. W., Lieut.		Berryman, A. M., Hon. Lt.-Col.
		Bide, W. G., Capt.
		Bingham, J. F., Lieut.
		Bird, F. G., Major, M.C.
		Blair, J., Lieut.
		Blake, G. W., 2nd Lieut
		Blow, H. F., Lieut
B		
Baker, W. H., Capt.		

RESIDENT MEMBERS—Continued.

Boalch, E. H., Lieut.
 Borland, R. C., 2nd Lieut.
 Bouck, C., Capt.
 Bown, E. A. Q., Capt.
 Bowness, E. W., Hon. Lt.-Col.
 Bradbrooke, G. R., Major, M.C.
 Bromley, C. H., Lt.-Comdr.
 Brooks, W. M., Capt.
 Brown, A. H., Capt.
 Brown, J. E., Lieut.
 Brown, T. M., Capt.
 Burns, T. E., Lieut.
 Burr, F. G., Capt.
 Burrell, Geo. E., Lieut.
 Burton, John, Lieut.
 Butler, F. J., Lieut.
 Byrnes, H. J., Lieut.

C

Campbell, A. B. D., Capt.
 Campbell, E. D., Capt.
 Campbell, F. T., Lt.-Col., M.C.,
 V.D.
 Campbell, J. C., Lieut.
 Campbell, Norman A., Capt.
 Cardell, H. J., Lieut.
 Carlile, R. C., Capt.
 Carr, C. B., Capt.
 Carson, H. R., Lieut.
 Cavanaugh, L. A., Lt.-Col.
 Cave, J. H., Major
 Chapman, L. H., Major
 Chase, A. V., Capt.
 Choate, C. A., Major
 Chritchley, H. F., Lieut.
 Chubb, A. G., Lieut.
 Clapperton, D. S., Lieut.
 Clark, C. Boville, Lieut.
 Coates, W. R., Capt.
 Cody, M. G., Capt.
 Collinge, Thos. W., Lieut.
 Connolly, C. E., Brig, D.S.O.
 Corben, S. H., Lieut.
 Corbet, C. V. B., Lieut.
 Corley, J. B., Capt.
 Costigane, A. R., Major
 Crichton, J. H., Capt.
 Cummings, G. J., Lieut.
 Cunningham, D. G. L., Col., M.C.,
 V.D.
 Currey, F. E., Capt.

D

Dailley, W. G. B., Major, O.B.E.
 Davies, S. J., Major, M.C.
 Davis, A. J., Major
 Dawson, H. R., Major
 Dingle, Norman D., Col.
 Dingman, A. R., Lieut.
 Donald, T. B., Capt.
 Dowler, P. E., Capt.

E

Edwards, E. W., Major

Ellissen, Myles A., Capt., M.C.
 Emslie, W. J. F., Capt.
 Evans, W. W., 2nd Lieut.
 Ewens, G. M., Lieut.

F

Farquharson, S. R., Capt.
 Farren, E., Lieut.
 Farrow, N. A., Capt.
 Farthing, H. C., Lieut.
 Ferguson, A. H., Capt.
 Fetherstonhaugh, W. S., Lt.-Col.,
 C.B.E.
 Findlay, E. M., Lieut.
 Firmstone, W. E., Major
 Fish, F. H., Major.
 Flood, L. R., Lieut.
 Folkins, G. A., Lieut.
 Foster, J. R., Lieut.
 Fotheringham, D. T., Capt.
 Francis, H. W., Major
 Franks, H. G. S., Capt., M.C.
 Freeborn, S. G., Major, M.C.
 Frickleton, W. C., Lieut.

G

Gaherty, G. A., Capt.
 Galbraith, C. T., Capt., M.C.
 Gayfer, A. J., Major.
 Goodchild, R. H., Lieut.
 Gordon, J. P., 2nd Lieut., M.M.
 Graham, F., Capt.
 Gray, J. T., Lieut.
 Greene, M. K., Lt.-Col.
 Green, L., 2nd Lieut.
 Gulland, F. M., Lieut.
 Gunderson, R. H., Lieut.

H

Hanna, J. J., Capt.
 Hanning, J. E., Lt.-Col., M.C.
 Harcourt, P. V., Major, D.C.M.
 Harkness, D. S., Major.
 Harvey, F. M. W., Lt.-Col., V.C.,
 M.C.
 Harvie, E. L., Capt.
 Haworth, D. C., Lieut.
 Haywood, C. V., Capt.
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